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PART I.—JANUARY

The "Fifty-seven Years" in the Zoroastrian
Doctrine of the Resurrection

By A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON,
Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University,
New York City.

THE doctrine of the resurrection of the dead is a familiar one in Zoroastrianism from the Avesta and kindred sources. It has long been a puzzle to me, however, to understand why the Pahlavi Books assign the exact number "fifty-seven years" at the end of the last millennium to the events connected with the resurrection of the dead (Phl. *rīstāxēz*) and the renovation of the world (Phl. *frašōkart*, Av. *frašōkərətī*) by the Saviour or Benefactor (Phl. *Sōšyans* or *Sōšāns*, Av. *Saošyant*) and his assistants, fifteen males and fifteen females.¹ It has therefore seemed worth while to bring together the Pahlavi passages alluding to the fifty-seven years and see if anything can be deduced from them.

1. We may begin with the B ū n d a h i s h n.²

¹ Cf. Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies*, chap. ix, § 85 (1927), being the original English from which was made the German translation in Geiger and Kuhn, *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, 2. 684-686 (1903).

² For the text of the Indian recension of the Būndahishn see the editions by Justi, p. 72, lines 10-13; Westergaard, p. 72, 10-13; M. R. Unvalla, p. 84, 12-15; and cf. transl. by West, *SBE*. 5, 123. For the Iranian Būndahishn see the photozincograph facsimile edited by T. D. and B. T. Anklesaria, p. 223, 2-5, fol. 113b; its text in this passage presents some slight but unimportant variations from the Indian recension.

names of Gayōmart are roused
 CLIFTON, V. Islands of Queen Wilhelmine of Mashya and Mashyōi,²
 Blagden mankind; in the fifty-seven
 MILLS, L. A. British Malaya, 1824-18 . . . they awaken (*vigrāsēnd*)³ all the
 SCHRÖDER, E. E. W. Gs. Über die . . . and up."⁴
 indischen Grundlagen d . . . nī Dēnīk refers similarly to these
 Kultur. By C. O. Blagden

H. A. Comp (36). 5. "In the fifty-seven years,
 Languages . . . the period of the raising of the dead."⁵
 TALIS,

The next chapter in which this allusion occurs treats of
 the renovation of the world and gives the names (DD. 35
 (36), 4-7) of six of the larger company, who will aid the
 Saoshyant (Phl. *Sōšyans*, here written *Sōšāns*) in bringing
 this and the resurrection to pass in their respective regions
 of the earth, while his own activities are confined to the
 central zone of Khvanīras. It concludes (§ 7): "The same
 perfect deeds for six years in the six *other* regions, and for
 fifty years in the brilliant Khvanīras, awaken⁶ immortality
 and set going everlasting life and everlasting weal."

The question here arises as to whether we should try to
 bring the years of this particular paragraph (§ 7) into con-
 nexion with the "fifty-seven" mentioned in the paragraph
 (§ 5) just above, as already quoted. West (*SBE*. 18, 79, n. 4)
 notices that the number "six" in § 7 is found in all the

¹ Thus (*hangēzēnēt*) is to be read, from Phl. *hangēzēnītan*, see Bartholomae, *WZKM*. 25, 404.

² Instead of "Mashya and Mashyōi" read "Mahryag and Mahryānag" with Schaefer in Reitzenstein-Schaefer, *Studien z. antik. Synkretismus*, p. 233, and see Schaefer's discussion (op. cit., p. 226, n. 1), together with his references to Freiman and Junker.

³ Best transliterated as *vigrāsēnd* "they awaken", instead of (West) *virāyēnd* "they prepare"; see Bartholomae, *WZKM*. 25, 404.

⁴ Instead of the "Huzvarish" logograms *madam yakavīmūnand* (Ind. Bd.) the Iran Bd. gives the Iranian equivalents *ōl ōstand*.

⁵ For the Pahlavi text, see edition by T. D. Anklesaria, *Datistan-i Dinik, Part I, Pursishn I-XL*, p. 73, Bombay (1910 ?); for translation see West, *SBE*. 18, 79. Cf. further Söderblom, *La Vie future*, pp. 260-1.

⁶ See note 3 above. But West here, as above, translates "prepare", since he reads the word as *virāyēnd*.

manuscripts, and adds in its introduction *praveša* and this other treatise it to be 'seven', so as made it *vābhūṣaṇa* (*History of Indian* § 5. The number being a fact we learn from Nanjio's *Catalogue*, between 'six' and 'seven' regarding *hetucakraḍamaru* is seem, a choice either (1) or, some well-known referred to by instead of an original "seven".

owing to the predominance of the number fifty - *Ui* (*Vaiṣeṣika* or else (2), if the texts are correct, we may say 7. 6. 12. *nyāyapraveša* additional year (6 + 1) was devoted to work that he was engaged in bringing to its full fruition the individual *Tibet* accomplished by the Saoshyant and his six co-labourers. In any case it seems plausible to surmise that we have here at least one of the two or three attempts by the Pahlavi writers to interpret or apportion the fifty-seven years.

3. In a passage in the *Vichītakīhā ī Zātsparam*, or "The Selections of Zātsparam", as translated by West, *SBE*. 37, 405, § 9, we again find a reference to "the fifty-seven years of Sōshāns". The paragraph, which is part of a passage mystically connecting the number of words in the Gāthās with the epochs of time, seeks to explain the number by comparing "the original 57 words" in the Airyaman Prayer and its accompanying utterances which are recited as formulas at the end of the Gāthās. Zātsparam explicitly calls attention to the fact that these latter formulaic addenda, numbering twelve and twenty-one words respectively, combined with those in the Prayer, sum up to the "original 57".¹ Or, as West (loc. cit., n. 4) observes, "the Airyaman contains 24 words, its Ashem-vohū 12, and its consecration (Yas. 54. 2) 21 words, making altogether 57 words." We do not know whether Zātsparam had any traditional basis for this occult interpretation or whether his own ingenuity evolved it; nevertheless, such an explanation seems fanciful and far-fetched.

¹ No text is available, but we may rely on the accuracy of West's translation.

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 CLIFTON, V. Islands of Queen Wilhelmina of Maill it a solution of the
 Blagden
 MILLS, L. A. British Malaya, 1824—they awaken chapter (only nine para-
 HRÖDER, E. E. W. Gs. Über did up." 4 final millennium and the
 indischen Grundlagen dñi Dēnīk refūs. In the summarized
 cultur. By C. O. Bl:— concerning his coming and the events
 H. A Coy (36). 5. "g paragraph occurs:—

language the perio². In the fifty-seven of his years
 there^{ALL} rt chapth be an annihilation of the fiendishness of the
 two-legged race and others, and a subjugation of disease
 and infirmity, death and affliction, and of the primal evils
 of tyranny, heresy, and wickedness. There will be a per-
 petual growth of green vegetation and happiness of the
 whole creation. There will be seventeen years of
 vegetable eating, thirty years of drinking water, and
 ten years of spiritual food."

The combined years, 17 (vegetable) + 30 (water) + 10
 (spiritual food), make up the "fifty-seven". Although the
 passage gives no particular reason for the distribution of the
 years involved, it may rest on some old tradition. We may
 recall that the Būndahishn (Bd. 30. 2-3) states that towards
 the end of the millennial years before the Saoshyant shall
 appear, men will gradually desist from eating meat (*bisraya* =
gōšt), then from milk (*pēm*), subsisting only on water (*mayā* =
āb), and finally, "in the ten years when Sōshyans comes
 they remain without food and do not die." 2

All of these Pahlavi passages are in agreement with regard
 to the number fifty-seven years of Sōshāns; they differ

¹ See tr. West, *SBE.* 47, 117. For the text cf. D. M. Madan, *The Pahlavi Dinkard*, part 2, pp. 674-5; also Dastur D. P. Sanjana, *The Dinkard*, 14, 98-9 (text); p. 95 (transl.).

² For text of the Indian Bd. 30. 2-3, see Justi, p. 70 bottom, 71 top; Westergaard, pp. 70-1; Unvalla, p. 82 bottom, 83 top; and for the Iranian Būndahishn, Anklesaria, p. 221. Cf. also transl. West, *SBE.* 5. 120-1.

only in those particular instances *praveśa* and this other treatise individual attempt is made in *vābhūṣaṇa* (*History of Indian* years in this period. This fact would seem that the *Nyāyapraveśa* was no recognized tradition regarding the *24* of Nanjio's *Catalogue*, with regard to the former, some well-known *hetucakraḍamaru* is referred to by have been current.

5. A solution, perhaps, of the number fifty-*Ui (Vaiśeṣika)* found in a passage in the *Dēnkar* (Dk. 7. 6. 12, *nyāyapraveśa* based on the traditional chronology and says that *he* was Tibetan years elapsed from the time when Zoroaster first received that revelation of the religion until it was published throughout *nanjio* the world.¹ The passage runs thus :—

Dk. 7. 6. 12. "One *marvel* is this, which is manifest (*padtāk*), that in fifty-seven years onward from Zaratūst's receiving the religion, the arrival of the religion is manifest in *all* the seven regions (of earth)."²

If, in the light of this statement, we examine West's tables of Zoroastrian Chronology (*SBE*. 47, introd. p. xxxi), as based on the millennial system of the *Būndahishn* and other Pahlavi sources, we shall observe at the outset certain parallels between the years assigned in the careers of Aūshētar, Aūshētar-māh, Sōshāns, and those of Zaratūst, since each of these spiritual leaders in the last three millenniums of the world successively received the divine revelation at the age of 30, the age at which it was vouchsafed to Zoroaster. We may,

¹ I am especially indebted to my fellow-worker, Dr. Charles J. Ogden, for suggestions in connexion with this passage.

² For the text see Madan, *The Pahlavi Dinkard*, 2. 648; Sanjana, *Dinkard*, 14. 45 (text), 44 (transl.). Cf. transl. West, *SBE*. 47. 80. The traditional chronology of the early years of the Faithis summarized by West, *SBE*. 47, introd. p. xxx; see the references to the Pahlavi texts there cited, and compare also the Persian Ravāyat of Kam Dīn Shāpur, 2. 48, 11-12, Bombay, 1922. Incidentally may be added the fact that another Persian Ravāyat, that of Kam Bhara, op. cit. 2. 48, 18, assigns "57 years" for the reign of the legendary Kai Khusrāu. The *Būndahishn* (Bd. 34. 7), however, gives a round number of "60 years" for this monarch's reign. For the passages in the Ravāyats I have to thank my colleague, Professor L. H. Gray.

THE RESURRECTION

CONTENTS

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Is the Nyayapraveśa that the *Nyāyapraveśa*

BY PROFESSOR GIUSEPPE²⁴ of Nanjiō's *Catalogue*,

THE *Nyāyapraveśa*¹ with the commen^{he} *hetucakraḍamaru* is has been published in the Gaekwad's^a referred to by together with a careful comparative study of ^{pr} *Ui (Vaiśeṣika* translations by my friend Vidhuśekhara ^ś *Nyāyapraveśa* translations presuppose the same original, ^{is} that he was (T¹) (Cordier, *Catal.*, vol. iii, p. 435, n. 7) has^{the} the Tibetan lated from the Sanskrit, while the second (T²) is a^{certain} that from the Chinese of Yuan Chwang (Tib.: T'añ ^{śom} Nanjiō The title of the work in the Sanskrit text is *Nyāy*^d already *sūtra*: in this the word *sūtra* seems to be out of place, and it would be better to substitute the Chinese 論 *lun*, *śāstra*, which is much more correct, and which is to be found also in the index of the *bsTan-aGyur*: *Bstan.bcos.rigs.pa.la. ajug.pa*: *nyāyapraveśa-śāstra*. (Cf. Haribhadra's *Vṛtti*, p. 9: *nyāyapraveśakākhyāśāstram*.) According to the Tibetan colophon of T¹ the title of the book is given as *pramāṇa-nyāyapraveśaprakaraṇa*; but as it often happens in the Tibetan titles, this is probably a later restoration based on the Tibetan itself. If we have recourse to the commentary by Kwei-chi (因明入正理論疏) we should be inclined to interpret the *ts'ad ma* of the Tibetan not as *pramāṇa*, but as *ts'ad.mai.rig.pa*: *pramāṇavidyā, hetuvidyā*: in fact the Chinese commentator gives us in transcription the Sanskrit title of the book in this way: 梵云. 隨都. 費陀. 那耶. 鉢羅吠奢. 奢薩怛羅; in Sanskrit, *hei tu—fei t'o—na ye—po lo fei she—she sa tan lo*. Then he explains: *hei tu* means 因 cause; *fei t'o* means 明 knowledge; *na ye* means 正 logic; *po lo fei she* means 入 to enter;

¹ As I am writing far away from any Chinese library, nor have I yet received the last volumes of the Taishō edition of the *Tripitaka*, I cannot help using for this note the Nanking edition of the works by Kwei-chi and Shen t'ai: therefore I cannot give any better reference.

THE P BY DINNAGA ?
CONTENTS

It is evident, therefore, that
Whose *hetuvidyā-nyāya-praveśaśāstra*.
English translation the book is not
out to 商羯羅塞縛彌 or
1216, Sugiura, p. 36).
Ji himself, after having given the transcrip-
of the book, and having explained it in various
upon the phrase which follows the title,
羯羅主菩薩造 (that is to say, made
by a Śāṅkarasvāmin). He says: 梵云. *Shang*
mi p'u sa 訖栗底: *ki.li.ti*. In Sanskrit:
mi-bodhisattva-kṛta. Further, in the Chinese
under the name of Dinnāga there is another treatise
which has been translated twice: firstly by Yuan Chwang and
after him by I Tsing (Nanjiō, nn. 1223, 1224), and which is
called 因明正理門論, restored by Nanjiō as *Nyāya-*
dvāraśāstra; this, however, is not perfectly correct,
the right restoration being *hetuvidyā-nyāyamukhaśāstra*.¹ The

¹ When I first wrote this article, although I could not accept the restoration proposed by Nanjiō (*Nyāyadvāraśāstra*), I was inclined to think that the title of Nos. 1223-4 in Nanjiō's *Cat.* was in Sanskrit *Nyāyadvāraśāstra*. When I received the proofs, I substituted *Nyāyamukha* for *Nyāyadvāra* for the following reasons. First of all, those who know Buddhist Chinese are aware of the fact that Ch. 門, like Tib. *sgo*, may be the equivalent of Skt. *dvāra*, as well as of *mukha* (cf. expressions like 解脫門 *vimokṣamukha*, etc.). Therefore, according to the Chinese a restoration *Nyāyamukha* would be quite as possible as *Nyāyadvāra*. Moreover, the recently published text of the *Tattvasaṅgraha* confirms the conjecture that the title of the original book by Dinnāga was, in fact, *Nyāyamukha*. In the *Tattvasaṅgraha* we read (p. 372, l. 23):—

evam nyāyamukhagrantho vyākhyātavyo diśanayā |
jñānam ity abhisambandhāt pratītiḥ tatra coditā ||

Kamalaśīla thus comments on this śloka:—*tatrāyaṃ Nyāyamukhagranthaḥ : "yaj jñānam artharūpādaṃ viśeṣaṇābhīdhāyakābhedopacāreṇāvikalpakam tad akṣam akṣam prati varṇata iti pratyakṣam" viśeṣaṇam jātyādi, etc.*

In the index of quotations the editor of the text considers this passage to be from the *Nyāyapraveśa*; but he adds in a footnote: *ādarśapustake pāṭhabhedo drśyate* (p. 90). The *ādarśapustaka* is the text of N.P. as it is printed in the same collection, where the definition of *pratyakṣa* is given in the following terms: *pratyakṣam kalpanāpodham yaj jñānam arthe*

relation between the *Nyāyapraveśa* and this other treatise has not yet been settled. Vidyābhūṣaṇa (*History of Indian Logic*, p. 300, n. 2) wrongly affirms that the *Nyāyapraveśa* corresponds to Nos. 1223 and 1224 of Nanjiō's *Catalogue*, while at page 299, n. 1, he says that the *hetucakraḍamaru* is probably the same as the *hetudvāraśāstra* referred to by I Tsing (Takakusu's transl., p. 187). Professor Ui (*Vaiśeṣika Phil.*, p. 68, n. 2) rightly pointed out that the *Nyāyapraveśa* cannot be attributed to Dinnāga, but it seems that he was inclined to identify the *Nyāya Pr.* only with the Tibetan text translated from the Chinese. But as it is certain that Nanjiō 1223 and 1224 are absolutely different from Nanjiō 1216, in the same way it is certain—as was stated already by Vidyābhūṣaṇa himself (p. 300, n. 1) and has been now definitely shown by Vidhuśekhara Shāstri—that both the Tibetan translations are of one and the same work. Now, what is the relation between the *Nyāyapraveśa* and the *Nyāyamukhaśāstra*? Are these both to be ascribed to Dinnāga, or was one only written by the great logician?

In the colophon to the *Nyāyapraveśa*, translated into Tibetan from the Chinese (Cordier, iii, p. 436), it is already

rūpādaṁ nāmajātyādikalpanārahitaṁ tad akṣaṁ akṣaṁ prati vartata iti pratyakṣam.

But there is no question of *pāthabhedā*, because, as may be gathered from Kamalaśīla himself, we have here not a quotation from the N.P., but from the *Nyāyamukha*. In the commentary on *kārikā* 12 (Yuan Chwang's transl., Tōkyō ed., p. 3a) Dinnāga quotes half a *śloka* as a *mūlakārikā* (i.e. taken from the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*):

現量除分別
餘所說因生

Then, commenting on the definition *pratyakṣaṁ kalpanāpocḥam*, he writes 若有智於色等境、遠離一切種類名言、假立無異諸門分別、由不共緣現現別轉故現量、

Now it is evident that this definition tallies fairly well with that given by Kamalaśīla in his quotation from the *Nyāyamukha*. So that there is no doubt that Nanjiō 1223, 1224 represent the Chinese version of the *Nyāyamukha*, which is the *rigs-pai-sgo*, attributed to Dinnāga and quoted very often in the Buddhist logical works preserved in the *bsTan-aGyur*.

said that this work must not be identified with the *rigs.pai.sgo* : *nyāyamukha* which is quoted in the *ts'ad.mai.agrel.c'en*, the commentary on the *Pramāṇa(samuccaya)*. Moreover, we have not sufficient grounds for rejecting the statement of Kwei-chi. He was a pupil of Yuan Chwang, the translator of both works, and was himself perfectly acquainted with the history of Indian logic, as it is proved not only by his commentary upon the *Nyāyapraveśa*, but also by his essays and glosses on the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* as the 成唯識論料簡, the |||| 別鈔, and the commentary on the *Vimśakā*-and *Triṃśakā-kārikā*.

The statement that he gives is formal¹: Dinnāga wrote the *Nyāyamukhaśāstra*, and Śaṅkarasvāmin, who was one of his pupils, composed the *Nyāyapraveśa*, deriving the fundamental tenets of this book from the treatise of his master. Shen t'ai, 神泰, who was another disciple of Yuan Chwang, and who has commented upon the *Nyāyamukhaśāstra*, 因明正理門論述記, makes a statement almost identical in meaning : "Nyāya (正理) is the name of the other fifty books (literally : teachings), as the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* 集量), and so on. Because this *śāstra* represents the door of it (viz. *nyāya*), therefore it is called *nyāyamukha*. As to the *Nyāyapraveśa* made by Śaṅkarasvāmin (天主) [in the title of it] this *śāstra* is called [simply] *nyāya*, and because that [book, viz. the *Nyāyapraveśa*] can permit the entrance in this [viz. the *Nyāyamukha*], therefore it is called 'entrance into the *Nyāya*'. Since [the title] is abridged, it does not contain the word : door."

Recently my learned friend Vidhuśekhara Shāstrī has studied again the question in an article published in the *Indian Historical Review* (vol. iii, 1, p. 152). In this he endeavours to show that the *Nyāyapraveśa* is by Dinnāga, and that the authority of the Chinese sources is contradicted by the Tibetan and Sanskrit documents. On the contrary, I am inclined to maintain that here also Chinese sources are

¹ In the introductory part of his glosses on the *Nyāyapraveśa*.

correct. In fact, I think that his theory is based on the invalid assumption that the *Nyāyapraveśa* is identical with a supposed *Nyāyadvāra* (p. 153, "it goes without saying that in fact *N.P.* and *Nyāyadvāra* are one and the same"), while he believes that Nanjiō 1223 and 1224 are to be restored in *Nyāyatarkadvāraśāstra*. As, however, I have already shown, there is no word for *tarka* in Chinese; while, as we have seen, the Tibetan authorities also assert that the *Nyāyapraveśa* and the *Nyāyamukha* are two different books. Moreover, just as Chinese 門 and 入 have two different meanings, in the same way the Tibetan *sgo*, which corresponds usually to Skt. *dvāra* or *mukha*, is never used for *praveśa*, the regular translation of which is *ajug.pa*. Therefore, since the *Nyāyapraveśa* and the *Nyāyamukha* are two different works, the following passage of the commentary by Dinnāga himself on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* has no value for the purpose of proving that he himself is the author of the *Nyāyapraveśa*: *de.lta. bui.yon.tan.can.gyi.ston.pa.la.p'yag.ats'al.nas.ts'ad.ma.bsgrub.par.byabai.p'yir.rañ.gi.rab.tu.byed.pa.rigs.pai.sgo.la.sogs.pa.rnams.las.adir.gcig.tu.btus.te.ts'ad.ma.kun.las.btus.pa.brtsam.par.bya'o*.

Nor does the other passage of Jinendrabuddhi (in his *Viśālāmalaṭī*, Mdo (Narthang ed.) Re, fol. 4^b, quoted at p. 155) prove aught else than is already *siddha*, that is to say, that the *Nyāyamukha* (and not the *Nyāyapraveśa*) is by Dinnāga.

The example of the first of the *pakṣābhāsas*, namely the *pratyakṣaviruddha*, referred to and refuted by Kumārila (*Ślokavārttika*, i, 1, 5, Chowkhamba ed.), and Pārthasārathimiśra (*ibid.*), *asrāvaṇaḥ śabdaḥ*, occurs certainly in the *Nyāyapraveśa*, but it is also discussed in the *Nyāyamukha*: 現量... 相違... 如有成立聲非所聞. that is to say: *pratyakṣaviruddham: yathā: asrāvaṇaḥ śabda iti*.

Again, the *svavacanaviruddha*, refuted by Kumārila, is also contained in the *Nyāyamukha*, although the example given by Pārthasārathimiśra, *jananī me bandhyā*, does not

occur, it is true, in the *Nyāyamukha*, where the example is 一切言皆是妄: *sarvavacanāni mithyā*¹ (cf. *Nyāyabindu*, Benares ed., p. 85; *sarvaṃ mithyā bravīmi*). But this does not prove anything, since it is obvious that we cannot assert that the *Nyāyamukha* was the only source from which Pārthasārathimiśra drew his knowledge of Buddhist philosophy.

The example of the *lokaviruddha*: *śaśī na candrah* is far more interesting; it can be found neither in the Sanskrit text of the *N.P.* nor in T¹, but it occurs in the Chinese translation and in T², which, as already said, is based on that. Now this example is discussed in the *Nyāyamukha*—如說懷兔非月有故: *yathā śaśī na candra iti*.

As to the example of the *hetvābhāsa*, called *dharmaviśeṣa-viparītasādhana*, that is to say, *parārthāś cakṣurādayaḥ saṅghātātvaḥ chayanāsanādyāṅgavat*, referred to by Kumāṛila, it is not in the *Nyāyamukha*; but it should be noted that the example was not invented by Dinnāga, who rather took it from the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, 17 (cf. the commentary of Gauḍapāda on it).

In addition, it is worthy of notice that according to the tradition preserved by the Chinese commentators (Shen t'ai, who evidently reproduces the theories of his master, called by him 法論師) Śāṅkarasvāmin altered in some points the doctrine of Dinnāga contained in the *Nyāyamukha*. So, for instance, in this last book there are only five *pakṣābhāsās*: (1) *svavacana-viruddha*; (2) *āgama-viruddha*; (3) *loka-viruddha*; (4) *pratyakṣa-viruddha*; (5) *anumāna-viruddha*.

In the *Nyāyapraveśa*, on the contrary, we find nine *pakṣābhāsās*, that is to say, the four mentioned above as well as (6) *aprasiddhaviśeṣaṇa*, (7) *aprasiddhaviśeṣya*, (8) *aprasiddhobhaya*, (9) *prasiddhasambandha*. How can this difference between

¹ This thesis can be met with in the first chapter of the fragment of the *Tarkaśāstra* (?) attributed to Vasubandhu. Its text has been restored into Sanskrit by me, and will very soon be published together with other logical works preserved in Chinese.

the two works be explained ? According to Shen t'ai the last four *doṣas* are a superfluous addition by Śaṅkarasvāmin. The *aprasiddhaviśeṣya* is, according to him, nothing else than *hetvaprasiddhadoṣa* 因不成過; the *aprasiddhaviśeṣaṇa* is *vaidharmyadrṣṭāntadoṣa* 無同喻; the *aprasiddhobhaya* is related to the first two, and, as these are not *pakṣābhāsās*, it also cannot be a *pakṣābhāsa*.

As to the example given by Śaṅkarasvāmin in order to explain the *prasiddhasambandha*, namely, *śrāvaṇaḥ śabdaḥ*, this is in fact *aprasiddhapakṣa*, because nobody can begin a discussion if the *prativādin* is not supposed to have a thesis completely different from that which is accepted by the *vādin*. Therefore, he concludes, there are only five *pakṣadoṣās*. Kwei-chi himself, after having quoted the first five *pakṣābhāsās*, comments: "Dinnāga established only these five and Śaṅkarasvāmin added the other four."

Lastly, my friend Vidhuśekhara Shāstrī is opposed to the attribution of the *Nyāyapraveśa* to Śaṅkarasvāmin, since Yuan Chwang does not quote in his travels the name of this author. But I do not think that this is a decisive objection, because not only was the book translated by the great pilgrim himself, under the name of Śaṅkarasvāmin, but, as can be seen from many passages of the commentaries by Kwei-chi and Shen t'ai, these Chinese scholars obtained all their information about the authorship and the history of these logical works from none other than their own master.

To conclude, I think that neither the attribution of the *Nyāyapraveśa* to Dinnāga, to be found in the rather late Tibetan translations of this work, nor the statement of a later author such as Haribhadra, can authorize us to deny validity to the ancient Chinese sources, which through Yuan Chwang were directly connected with traditions current in India at the time of the travels of the great Chinese pilgrim.

Nor should we forget that in the colophon of the discovered MSS. of the *Nyāyapraveśa* no statement is to be found concerning the author of the work.

Temple-and-Image Worship in Hinduism

By J. N. FARQUHAR

1. The use of images in Hindu temples and in Hindu homes is, perhaps, not absolutely universal to-day, as we shall see ; but the non-conforming minority, if it still exists, is exceedingly minute. In every part of India temples and images may be seen ; and the religious life of all classes of the people depends very largely on their use.

2. Yet *the Aryans of the Punjaub*, from whom the religion of India with its priests, schools, laws, literature, and customs has come, *possessed no temples and used no images*. They were a most religious people ; yet *they had no public worship of any sort*. They had domestic rites, and rites for the farm and the cornfield ; they had a noble pantheon of heavenly gods ; they had trained priests, an elaborate ritual and a stately liturgy ; yet every religious observance was of a domestic character. Even when a king summoned scores of priests and held a very great sacrifice for some state purpose, the sacrifice was the king's own personal undertaking, and it was only indirectly that it could be of importance to his people.

There were three types of Aryan sacrifice : (a) the offering of milk, grain, and butter in the fire of the altar ; (b) animal sacrifice ; (c) flagons of *soma* set out on the sacrificial grass. The man who held the sacrifice invited the necessary priests to come to his home ; and in a sacrificial shed, or in the open air, all the preparations were made. The gods were invited to descend ; and they were believed to come flying down from heaven, in their aerial cars, to the place of sacrifice and to sit down and eat and drink with the sacrificer, his wife, and the priests. *To this day this is the only fully orthodox worship in Hinduism*. All rules for both ritual and liturgy appear in Vedic literature.

3. How, then, did temple-and-image worship become the

common cult of Hinduism and displace the ancient sacrifices ? There is no record of the change in Hindu literature, nor is there any law in existence which declares the practice legitimate. All that we can make out from the literature is that the practice of image-worship became established and recognized within Hinduism round about 400 B.C. References to images, temples, and temple-priests make their appearance first in the literature of the fourth century B.C. They are found in the *Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa*, the *Grihya Sūtras*, the *Dharma Sūtras*, and in the early sections of both epics ; while such references are not to be found in earlier literature.

The archæological is quite consistent with the literary record. Stone images and remains of temples belonging to the third century B.C. have been discovered in fair numbers ; and thereafter there is abundance of material. The temples and images of the fourth century were probably of wood, in almost all cases, and have therefore perished.

Thus the general date of the appearance of temple-and-image worship in Hinduism is known ; but no authoritative pronouncement sanctioning the change is to be found in the literature anywhere nor does any law exist ordaining the practice. There is no welcome given to the new form of worship, nor is any voice raised against it.

4. Further, when we ask whence the practice came, the literature is again silent. The actual practice of image-worship is reflected in fragmentary fashion in most of the great books from the fourth century B.C. onwards ; but no Vedic work describes the ritual or prescribes the liturgy ; and there is not a hint given as to the history of the introduction of the cult. Only in late sectarian books do we get any account of the details of the worship.

5. Thus Hindu literature does not enable us to decide whence Hindu temple-and-image worship came. Nor have modern scholars settled the question for us. But there is A DEFINITE TRADITION in India on the subject, a tradition which the writer has heard from scholarly Brāhmans of the highest grades

and also from Śūdra scholars. The tradition is this, that *Temple-and-image worship grew up among Śūdras and was finally accepted by Hindus of the higher castes.*

There are three writers who, in their books, have given expression to this tradition, yet without mentioning the fact that it is a tradition.

The first is P. T. Śrīnivāsa Iyengar, whose name proclaims him a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhman. In discussing, in his *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, the development of Hinduism, he writes : "Temple ritual was elaborated on a grand scale. This ritual was primarily based on the ceremonies of fetish-worship of the Dravidian races." ¹

The second is Prof. Radhakrishnan, who, in his book, *The Hindu View of Life*, p. 41, says, "Image worship, which was a striking feature of the Dravidian faith, was accepted by the Aryans."

The third is Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, who has had unusual opportunities for intercourse with all types of Indian scholars. In his brilliant new book, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, he stresses the victory of the conquered Dravidians over the conquering Aryans in several fields, and finally says : "In particular, the popular, Dravidian element must have played the major part in all that concerns the development and office of image-worship, that is of *pūjā* as distinct from *yajña*." ²

The writer has not seen any discussion of this tradition by scholars. Professor A. Berriedale Keith, in his latest work,³ discusses the origin of the use of idols in India and concludes with the words : "It is therefore perhaps more plausible to believe that their employment gradually developed in India itself, though under what influences we simply do not know."

6. At first sight the statement that *Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaiśyas accepted from the despised Śūdra class a form of*

¹ p. 128.

² p. 5.

³ *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, 31.

worship which is now supreme in practically every type of Hinduism, seems to be totally incredible ; yet there are several large considerations, which, taken together, make it impossible, in the judgment of the writer, to reject the tradition.

(a) Although image-worship, both at home and in the temple, is recognized as fully legitimate for Hindus of all castes, yet every one acknowledges that *the ritual of image-worship is utterly alien from Vedic ritual*. Nor does any account of the new ritual and liturgy occur in any Vedic book.

But if the new ritual did not come from a Vedic source, then the conspicuous absence of rules for the ritual and liturgy of image-worship in Vedic literature is fully intelligible.

(b) It is rather a startling fact that, to this day and all over India, *Hindu temple-priests*, though universally recognized as Brāhmans, are not given at all the same standing and honour as other Brāhmans. Many centuries ago, temple-and-image worship became a recognized part of Hinduism. If, at that time, the ancestors of these modern temple-ministrants, being Śūdras, were given the Brāhman title, because, in Hinduism, it was impossible to recognize a man as a priest unless by caste he was a Brāhman, then their present position in Hindu society is fully comprehensible. Otherwise, the present invidious distinction is quite unintelligible.

(c) As we have just seen, the use of images, since 400 B.C., has been recognized as legitimate for all Hindus, in domestic as well as in temple worship ; and it has proved so popular that since then it has been almost universally practised.

Yet, from the very beginning, *a part of the Brāhman community, large or small, refused to adopt the cult of images*, and continued to perform the ancient Vedic sacrifices. Since all the directions for the performance of these sacrifices are found in the ancient Hindu literature which is classed as *śruti*, i.e. revelation of the highest grade, these men were called Śrautas. It is probable that most cultured Brāhmans maintained this attitude for a long time.

Yet in the course of the centuries, image-worship steadily

gained ground among Brāhmanas of all types ; so that the number of Śrautas has slowly dwindled until to-day. Yet, even now, there are a few families in which the head of the house is called an *agnihotri*, because he keeps the sacred fire burning and offers domestic sacrifice in it ; and, from time to time, though very rarely, one hears in India that a Śrauta Brāhman has had one of the great sacrifices performed.

Further, we are assured by cultured Hindus that, a hundred years ago, *there were Śrauta Brāhmanas in existence who had never bowed down to idols*. There are still a few Śrautas in India, but whether they maintain this Puritan attitude or not the writer does not know.

(d) It must be frankly acknowledged that, while for monotheists idolatry is impossible, *among people whose outlook is polytheistic, no form of worship is so attractive and so helpful as temple-and-image worship*. The vivid sense of the living presence of the gods in the temple, the charm of the ritual, and the deep emotional effect produced by the ritual, the liturgy and occasional hymn-singing on the hearts of the spectators, all combine to create eager worship and to inspire deep devotion.

Hence, by the Christian era, or soon after, considerable numbers of Brāhmanas had adopted temple-worship. The great vogue of the doctrine of *ahimsā* must have turned many thoughtful Brāhmanas against the animal sacrifices of Vedic worship. The advance of image-worship among them is proved by the rise of the worship of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, as forming together the highest manifestation of the bodiless Brahman. Those who worshipped the three felt that they were not sectarians, worshipping one of the many personal gods, but that, in their cult, they recognized the one supreme Spirit. The *Trimūrti* expressed, in the happiest way possible, the unity in diversity which was their conception of the divine. That this was a Brāhman movement is plain from the fact that the theology of the cult appears in the *Maitrāyaṇa Upanishad*.¹

¹ iv, 5-6 ; v, 2.

At a later date, when the worship of Brahmā had become impossible, Brāhmans who used images adopted a *pañchāyat* of gods—Vishṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa—as representing the whole pantheon ; and set their images or symbols in a quincunx for worship. They also built five-fold temples, each temple-enclosure containing five temples set in a quincunx. In order to maintain their orthodoxy, they adopted a ritual taken from the *Grihya Sūtras*. Instead of performing the *śoḍaśa upachāra*,¹ the sixteen operations, of the ordinary temple-ritual, they pronounced mantras and poured milk, ghee, or Ganges water, over the images or symbols of the five. The phrase they used for this new type of worship was *pañchāyatana pūjā*,² i.e. five-shrines' worship. This new type of worship is still common. The liquid is put in a metal vase or jar, called, in Hindī, *pañchpātra*, five-pot, and is poured over the images or symbols with a spoon. It is practised in domestic worship as well as in temples.

It is worthy of notice that for "shrine" they chose an ancient word, *āyatana*, used in the Upanishads³ for the abode of a god. It is an old Aryan word ; for in the *Avesta* we find *āyadanā*⁴ used with the same connotation.

This movement is most instructive. These Brāhmans wished to worship images ; for they felt the power and value of the system ; but they wished also to conserve their orthodoxy. Hence they chose, not a single god, but a *pañchāyat* representing the whole pantheon, and they adopted a mode of worship which is actually Vedic, being found in the domestic sūtras. Since the sūtras are *smṛiti*, not *śruti*, they are called *Smārtas*. Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas have also used this type of worship.

(e) The practice of the fine arts in Ancient India was in the

¹ See Arthur Avalon, *Tantra of the Great Liberation*, xcvi ; my *Crown of Hinduism*, 313.

² See my *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, 293.

³ *Āitareya*, ii, 1 ; *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, iii, 9, 10 ; *Kaushitaki*, i, 3.

⁴ Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, 52, 195, 391.

hands of men of extremely low caste.¹ Mr. Govinda Dās in his recent book, *Hinduism*, calls attention also to the lack of appreciation shown in Indian literature for men of artistic gifts, exclaiming: "The enormous mass of Sanskrit literature does not preserve the name of a single human artist."²

Clearly this would not have been so, had image-worship been created among the highest Hindu castes.

It thus seems to the writer that the five facts detailed above: (a) The non-Vedic origin of the temple-ritual³; (b) the universal low status of temple-ministrants to-day; (c) the Puritan attitude maintained towards image-worship by Śrauta Brāhmans for so many centuries; (d) the religious practice of Smārtas since the Christian era; (e) the extremely low status of the fine arts in ancient India, taken together, prove conclusively that the Indian tradition is trustworthy, and therefore that *temple-and-image worship grew up among Śūdras, that it was thrown open to the three Aryan castes about 400 B.C. and thereafter steadily climbed to its present supreme position.*

7. But scholars may still hesitate to accept the tradition. It may be asked: "How can we believe that, by 400 B.C., the rude despised Dasyus of the *Rigveda* had created a form of temple-worship so splendid as to captivate the higher castes?"

Two considerations have to be taken into account:—

(a) We must not equate the word *Śūdra* with the word *Dasyu*. If there is no difference between them, why was the term *Śūdra* created?

It is noteworthy that while *Dāsa* and *Dasyu* occur

¹ Cf. Ranade, *Religious and Social Reform*, 185.

² p. 195.

³ The words in use proclaim the gulf between the two systems:—

| | | |
|-----------------|-------|------------------|
| The Vedic cult. | | The temple cult. |
| Worship | yajña | pūjā |
| Priest | hotri | pūjārī |

frequently in the *Rigveda*, *Śūdra* occurs but once. In later literature *Śūdra* is the regular word, while *Dāsa* and *Dasyu* seldom occur, except in the sense of uncivilized people generally.¹ Still more noteworthy is the fact that, in *Rigveda*, x, 90, 12, *Śūdra* is placed alongside of *Brāhman*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaiśya*. It is the name of a caste, not the name of a race. While all *Śūdras* were *Dasyus*, all *Dasyus* were not *Śūdras*.

Must we not also definitely regard *Rigveda*, x, 90, 12, as being a legal pronouncement, a formal statement that a fourth caste has been created? The three names are old: *Śūdra* is new.

The writer is inclined to believe that, when preparing for the conquest of fresh territory, the leaders of the three castes came to the conclusion that, without the eager co-operation of their serfs, they could not undertake the war, and therefore decided to give them a new status, which would effectively set them far above all aborigines, whether in the Punjaub or in outside territory, and would bind them irrevocably to the Aryan people.

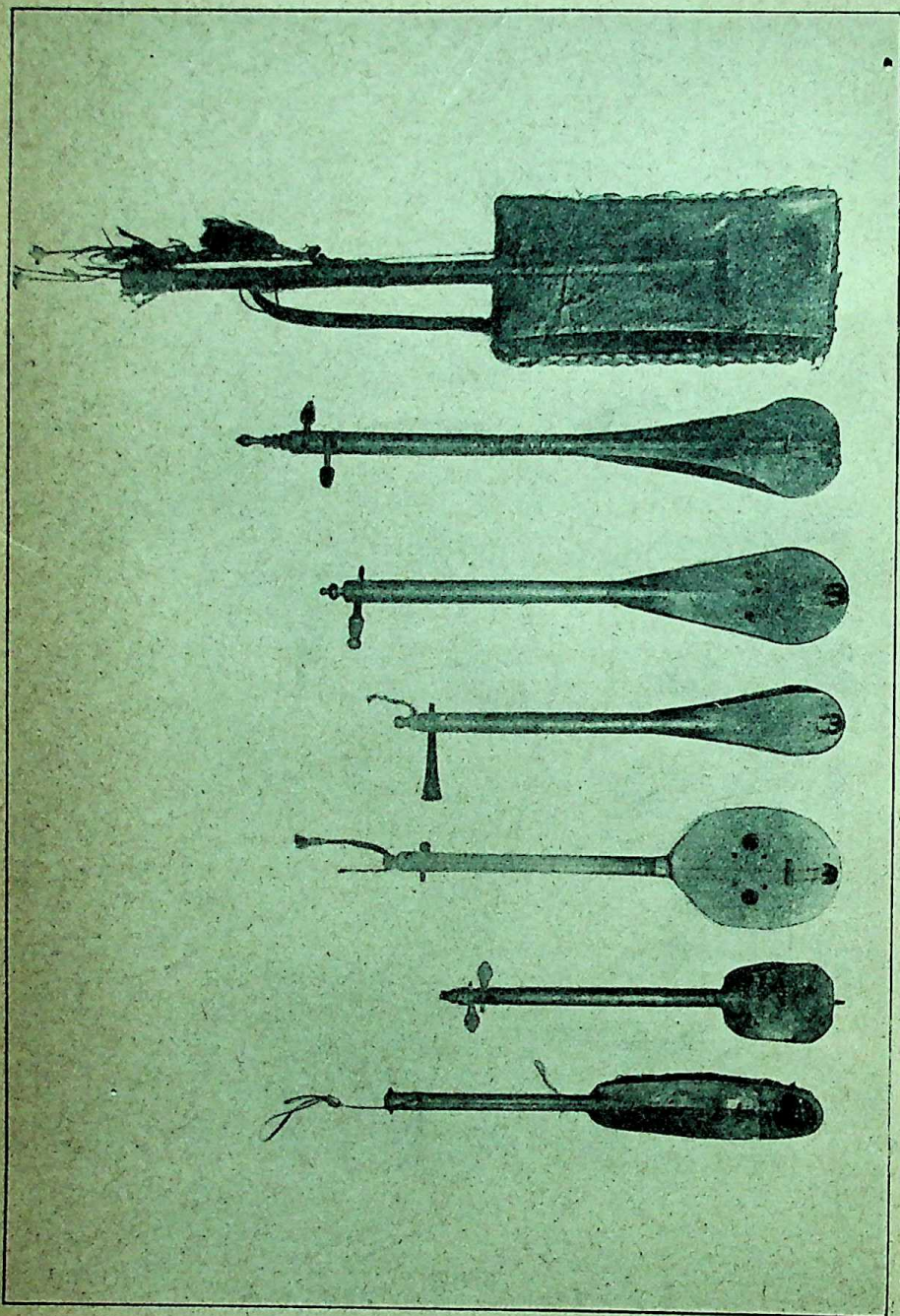
The *Śūdras* were thus a special group of aborigines, viz. those *Dāsas* who had been brought into close touch with the Aryans as serfs, and had been moulded in Aryan ways. They already shared the Aryan culture to some extent, although religiously and socially they were kept rigidly apart. Henceforth, as *Śūdras*, they were a closed group, like the other castes; and they were, necessarily, conscious of the new dignity they had as a corporate element in the conquering Aryan force.

(b) Thus, the men designated *Śūdras* in the hymn accompanied their masters on the great expedition of conquest, settled with them on the newly won lands, and shared in the new prosperity. The later literature shows that individual *Śūdras* became men of substance and wealth. The whole *Śūdra* community, in fact, shared in the results of the Aryan expansion, and advanced in culture as well as in wealth.

¹ See *Dāsa*, *Dasyu*, and *Śūdra* in the *Vedic Index*.

Under these conditions, the very crude observances of their ancient polytheism, which are reflected in the *Rigveda*, would gradually develop into an attractive temple-and-image worship, as happened to so many nations of antiquity. This change seems to come quite naturally, when two conditions arise together, *the belief that the gods are like men in appearance*, and *rapid progress in general culture*. The splendid new public worship, with its music, processions, anniversaries, and fascinating services, would then stand out in brilliant contrast with the flat, unchanging ritual of the private sacrifices of the Veda, and would inevitably draw the twice-born castes to the temples.

There would certainly be abundance of time for these developments before 400 B.C.



A North African Folk Instrument

BY HENRY GEORGE FARMER

(PLATE I)

"Near the tomb of the saint a group of children . . . is collected round a white-haired negro with cheeks covered with scars. He sings in a sad broken voice, which can scarcely be heard, accompanying the song on a sort of square guitar, a *gimbri*. Strange and weird is the effect of this primitive melody, rhythmised under the burning sun, in the great plains of mysterious Africa, where no European has ever penetrated. Absorbed in his own thoughts, the old child of the dark continent will croon for hours together his plaintive melody, muttering this same sad note, this unvarying strain, escaping like a sigh from his thick, pale, colourless lips."

G. MONTBARD, *Among the Moors*, p. 7.

AMONG the folk instruments of music in North Africa the primitive lute, guitar, or pandore known as the *gunbrī* (قنبري) or *gunībrī* (قنبري) stands *facile princeps*.¹ Look where you will from Egypt to Morocco, from the Mediterranean to the southern confines of the Sūdān, and you will find this instrument in some form or other, although its name may have slight variation.² It is essentially an instrument of the people, and is but rarely found in the hands of the professional musician of the town orchestra (*ribā'a al-āla*), who usually confines his attention to the more refined 'ūd (lute), *kūtra* (mandoline), or *ṭunbūr* (pandore)³ among the stringed instruments whose strings are plucked. All and sundry among the people at large who are impelled to try their hand at music, take up the *gunbrī* or *gunībrī*—the noisy youth, the whining beggar, the strolling minstrel, the industrious workman, the respectable merchant, and the *faqīr* of the religious fraternity (*zāwiya*)—each thinking himself an adept as a performer.

¹ In their various shapes the *gunbrī* and *gunībrī* may be termed lutes, pandores, or guitars.

² The negro *cambreh*, or *chalam* (*halam*), is identical with the Arabic *gunbrī*.

³ The *ṭunbūr* is but rarely used nowadays.

The ancestry of the *gunbrī* is clearly traceable, although its etymological significance may escape us. The identical type, replete with tuning-rings and tabs¹ (and also with the tuning pegs which succeeded them), as well as with the neck passing into the sound-chest (to be explained later), may be found in the art remains of Ancient Egypt, both in pictorial design and in actual specimens.²

The earliest reference to the *gunbrī* is made by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 1377). He describes the court music of the sultān of Mallī in the Western Sūdān, and among the instruments of music he specifies *qanābir* (قنابر) made of gold and silver.³ MM. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, the editors of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, say that the singular is doubtless *qunbarā'* (i.e., *gunburā'*). On the other hand, the lexicographers and special authorities say that the singular is *gunbrī*, with *gunībrī* as a diminutive, the plural being *ganābir*.⁴ Strange to say, not one of the later chroniclers of the Western Sūdān mention these instruments, although others are frequently spoken of.⁵

The etymology given above is open to question. A Moor of my acquaintance informs me that *gunbrī* is merely a debased form of *gunāwī* or *gināwī* (قناوي = "of the negroes").

¹ The system of the tuning-rings and tabs is explained below, but it is interesting to note the persistence of this primitive method in spite of the existence of the peg system. Even when the latter is found in the modern instrument, the tabs survive as an adornment (see Nos. 3 and 4) and as a means by which the instrument is hung up.

² See Sachs, *Die musikinstrumente des Alten ägyptens*, p. 54, et seq., and tafel ix. Wilkinson, J. G., *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (1837), ii, 298, et seq., figs. 185, 187, 188, 191.

³ *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, trad. par Defrémery et Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853-8), iv, 406.

⁴ Boethor, *Dict. Français-Arabe* (1864); Belkassem ben Sedira, *Petit Dict. Arabe-Français* (1882); Delphin et Guin, *Notes sur la poésie et la musique arabes* (1886), p. 60. Beaussier, *Dict. pratique Arabe-Français* (1887) writes كنبیری using specially the ك instead of the ف, and giving the regular feminine plural ات.

⁵ *Tārīkh al-sūdān*, *Tārīkh al-fattāsh*, and *Tadhkirat al-nisyan*.

At a casual glance there would appear to be some justification for this derivation, as the instrument is a great favourite with the negroes. Further, I find that Höst, in his *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes* (1787) calls the *gunbrī* the *kiṭāra kināwa* (كيتارة كناوة = "the negro guitar").¹ Christianowitsch thought that the instrument was introduced into Algeria from Morocco,² and certainly the latter country has been in closer touch with the negroes of the Sūdān than the former. Morocco appears to have held the *gunībrī* in greater esteem than Algeria. Here the instrument is often well-made, and frequently finely painted or carved with oriental designs.

It is highly probable that the instrument was taken over by the Arabs of North Africa in general from the older inhabitants. It is scarcely possible to examine the examples given without recognizing the instrument of Ancient Egypt. Yet when the Arabs came to North Africa in the late seventh century, they actually possessed a far better instrument of this type in the *ṭunbūr*, and this probably explains why the more primitive *gunbrī* and *gunībrī* of the older inhabitants became relegated to the folk.

MM. Delphin and Guin say that the *gunbrī* is the larger instrument used by the negroes, whilst the *gunībrī* is the smaller type of the Arabs and Moors.³ The *gunbrī* has a large oblong square or boat-shaped sound-chest (*makhzīna*) of wood, the face (*wajh*) of which, known to us as the "belly", is covered

¹ Höst, op. cit., p. 262. *Kināwī* is certainly as old as Yāqūt (d. 1229). See his *Mu'jam al-buldān*, iv, 307 [where, however, it is said to be the name of a Berber tribe].

² Christianowitsch, *Esquisse historique de la musique arabe* (1863), p. 31. The statement has been repeated by Rouanet in Lavignac's *Encyclopédie de la musique*, v, 2930.

³ Delphin et Guin, op. cit., pp. 60-1. Rouanet, op. cit., would make the distinction regional, i.e., the *gunbrī* in the south especially in the Sūdān, and the *gunībrī* in the north. Meaken only writes *ginbrī* and attaches this name to the smaller instrument. See his *Introduction to the Arabic of Morocco* (1891), and his later work *The Moors* (1902).

with skin, hence the face is often called the *jilda*. At the lower end of the face there is a sound-hole about 4 cm. in diameter. This skin is fastened to the sound-chest either by glue, nails, or by leathern thongs which are threaded to the edge and laced around the back. The neck (*yad* = "hand", or '*unq* = "neck") is cylindrical and has no finger-board. In the more primitive types the upper extremity of the neck is quite plain, save perhaps for the addition of a metal ferrule. In better types, however, a scroll or ornamental head called the *qarmūda* is added. This is generally bent backward.¹ Perhaps the distinctive feature of the *gunbrī* type is the comprehensive use to which the neck is put. Besides serving as a neck proper, it passes into the sound-chest, being so close to the belly as to actually raise it, where it might be termed the bass-bar, and reaches as far as the sound-hole. Its end, which shows itself at this sound-hole, is fashioned like a fork with two or three prongs, and serves the purpose of tail-pins to which the strings are fastened. This fork is called the *maštara*.

The strings (*awtār*, sing. *watar*) are generally three in number, although occasionally four or two are used. They are made of gut (sometimes horsehair) and are tied by a loop at the fork (*maštara*), from whence they pass over a high bridge (*kursī*, *ḥimār*)² up the neck where they are fastened at various places by means of tuning-rings of leather, as there are no tuning-pegs. These places (*mawāḍī*, sing. *mauḍī*) are determined by the *accordatura*, the tuning-rings having tabs attached which enable the performer to shift these rings when tuning. The instrument given by Höst in 1787 had the

following *accordatura*  which probably sounded an octave lower.³ It is usually played with the

¹ In the design in Höst, *tab.* xxxi, the neck is bent forward.

² In Egypt the name *kursī* is given to the tail-piece of the *ṭunbūr*, whilst the bridge is called the *faras* ("horse"). Cf. the Maghribī term *ḥimār* ("donkey").

³ For other schemes of *accordatura* see Rouanet, *op. cit.*, p. v, 2930.

thumb and fingers and not with a plectrum, the music being of the simplest character.¹

A particular point of interest about the *gunbrī* is the custom of decorating the instrument. Usually of plain and somewhat primitive structure in itself, the neck and sound-chest are generally adorned. Shells and metal ornaments are often attached to the latter, whilst the former is furnished with a curious assortment of shells, teeth, bells, coins, chains, tassels, ribbons, etc., dangling from it. Many of these adornments are looked upon by their owners as charms, and the cowrie shell especially brings "good luck" to women.² The *gunbrī* is rather a cumbersome instrument to handle, and for that reason it is usually supported by means of a strap or cord which passes round the neck of the player.

No negro *fête* would be considered complete without the *gunbrī*. Whether it be the popular "merry-making" or the *hadra* (seance) of the *faqīrs* (*fugarā*), the *gunbrī* will be found, striving to make its few notes heard above the din of the large metal castagnets (*qarāqīb*) and the noisy drum (*tabl*, *dardaba*) which maintain the rhythm.³ When there is no drum, which is frequently the case away from the *fêtes*, the *gunbrī* player improvises his own rhythmic accompaniment by beating the skin of the *gunbrī* with his hand.

The *gunībrī*, which is the instrument preferred by the Arabs and Moors, has a much smaller sound-chest, with a relatively longer neck, and is actually a primitive type of *tunbūr*. Where in the *gunbrī* the sound-chest is either boat-shaped or oblong-square, and made of wood, in the *gunībrī* it is generally pear-shaped, ovoid, or hemispherical, and made

¹ For some typical music see *Archives Marocaines*, ii, 194, and Rouanet, loc. cit.

² The lure of display is, however, at the root of the custom. Just as the professional musician of the city likes to possess an instrument richly inlaid with mother-of-pearl and choice woods, with exquisite carvings and metal work, so the mendicant negro minstrel yearns for his frippery and garnishings.

³ See *Archives Marocaines*, viii, 125, and Delphin et Guin, op. cit., p. 61. *Dardaba* = *dabdaba*. Lyon, loc. cit., writes *dubdaba* (cf. text).

of wood, tortoise-shell, cocoa-nut shell, gourd, and even metal. It has a skin belly, and the neck passes into the sound-chest in the same way as in the *gunbrī*.¹ The belly is generally pierced by a number of small sound-holes in addition to the large sound-hole at the lower extremity. Some of these are mere pin-holes, but they are invariably arranged symmetrically either singly or in twos, threes, or fours, often as part of a decorative scheme.

Unlike the *gunbrī*, however, the head of the *gunībrī* is furnished with tuning-pegs, which are cone-shaped,² cylindrical³ or flat like those of our violin.⁴ These are not always fixed in a peg-box (as in Nos. 2 and 6), but pierce the neck diagonally from the front or back. Very rarely is the *gunībrī* found with a "nut".⁵ In its stead a piece of gut or leather is tied round both strings and neck.

In spite of some of the primitive appurtenances, however, some excellently fashioned specimens of the *gunībrī* are produced, with carefully selected woods which are highly polished and finished. Most of them have the scroll and neck embellished with incised or fluted rings, sometimes painted in colours.⁶ Many have the sound-chest carved in arabesque,⁷ although painting the belly is more common.⁸ In the latter practice, the smaller sound-holes are used to imitate the Hispano-Moorish "rosettes" (*nuwwārāt*) that are found in the lute, mandoline, and rebec. Flowers, animals, and pious inscriptions are the usual subjects that attract the artist's fancy in pigment decoration.

The *gunībrī* is usually mounted with two strings, although three are occasionally found. They are tuned a fifth apart.

¹ In some specimens the neck passes completely through the sound-chest.

² See No. 4 below.

³ See Nos. 3 and 5 below.

⁴ See Nos. 2 and 6 below.

⁵ The example given by Christianowitsch has a "nut".

⁶ See No. 6 below.

⁷ See No. 419, *New York*.

⁸ See No. 2 below.

generally. This is the custom of the amateurs of the towns, but elsewhere the tuning depends on the needs and the ability of the performer. Although the strings are invariably plucked by thumb and fingers, the plectrum has occasional use, especially in Morocco, where it still carries the mediaeval Andalusian Arabic name of *saṭṭā'a*.¹

In spite of the popularity of the tambourines (*tarr*,² *duff*, *bandīr*, *darbūka*, *quwwāl*,³ and *ta'rija*), drums (*tabl*, *ṭabīla*, and *qaṣ'a*), flutes (*qaṣba*,⁴ *juwāq*), reed-pipe (*ghaiṭa*),⁵ and bag-pipe (*zakra*),⁶ the *gunībrī* has more deeply implanted itself into the affections of the folk. To us Westerners this is almost inexplicable. What means this dull, hollow, meaningless note that results when we strike a *gunībrī* string in these cold climes of ours? Nothing! And we are amazed indeed that it could convey aught else to others. Yet hearken to this same *gunībrī* in an Arab *dawwār* (village) or Moorish *qahwa* (café) at 30° N. Lat., when the "belly" of the instrument is taut, and the string is crisp, and then one begins to apprehend. Listen to that plaintive voice of the singer, that perpetual cadence of the *gunībrī* that haunts it, and that equally persistent yet seemingly alien rhythmical sequence of the tambourine, and you may enter the spiritual world of these Semites and feel the delights that this music brings to them. If not, you will at least understand that to them this poor "bladder and string" as the *gunībrī* has been called, with its instrumental congener, can bring an ineffable joy, at once a soothing peace and delirious frenzy, even though it leaves you unmoved.

The specimens of these instruments which are given here-

¹ See Seybold's *Glossarium Latino Arabicum* (eleventh century) sub "Plectrum". Cf. *Archives Marocaines*, viii, 189, where it is written *saṭ'a*.

² Called *tār* in Algeria.

³ Called *gullāl* in Algeria.

⁴ The Maghribī vocalization of *qaṣaba*.

⁵ Also called *ghāiṭa* and *ghīṭa*.

⁶ Beaussier writes *zugra*, and Lyon (*A Narrative of Travels in North Africa*, p. 234) has *zukkra*. Cf. Villoteau (*Descr. de l'Égypte, état mod.*, i, 970), where it is written *zūqqara*.

with are selected from my own collection—*gunībrī* from Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, a *gunbrī* from the Western Sūdān, and a *cambreh* from Senegambia. I have also indicated where similar or other specimens are to be found in public collections.¹

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE

No. 1, *Cambreh* from Senegambia.—Boat-shaped sound-chest of roughly finished wood. Cylindrical neck of cane ornamented with incised Vandyke pattern, and the end surmounted by a metal ring. Skin belly fastened to the sound-chest by means of neatly plaited leathern thongs which are stretched across the back. Two strings of horse-hair are attached to the fork (*mas̄ara*), and, passing over a high bridge, are fastened, not to tuning-pegs, but to tuning-rings with tabs, which are tied round the neck.

| | |
|-------------------------|------|
| | cm. |
| Total length . . . | 52 |
| Length of sound-chest . | 29.5 |
| Width of sound-chest . | 7.5 |
| Depth of sound-chest . | 5.5 |

See *New York*, Nos. 473 and 475. This specimen, which is a lineal descendant of the Ancient Egyptian *nefer*, is found among the more primitive negro and negroid peoples. See Ankermann, *Die africanischen Musik-instrumente*. In the *cambreh* and *gunībrī*, we not unfrequently see the bass-bar threading the belly as in the Ancient Egyptian instrument.

No. 2, *Gunībrī* from Morocco.—Ovoid sound-chest of tortoise-shell. Cylindrical neck of wood, painted green, with floral designs in black, yellow, and red. Skin belly, fastened to the sound-chest with glue, painted dark red, with floral designs in white, blue, yellow, and light red. Eight small sound-holes in the belly. The neck passes through the sound-chest completely, and the lower extremity being pointed, where it projects through the chest, is used as a tail-pin for the strings (missing) to be attached to. At the upper extremity the strings are fastened to two tuning-pegs which work in a peg-box.

| | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| | cm. |
| Total length . . . | 50 |
| Length of sound-chest . | 13 |
| Width of sound-chest . | 10 |
| Depth of sound-chest . | 5 |

¹ New York = *Catalogue of the Crosby Brown Collection of Musical Instruments* (New York, 1904-5). Michigan = *Catalogue of the Stearns Collection of Musical Instruments* (Michigan, 1918). Brussels = *Catalogue descriptif et analytique du Musée instrumental du conservatoire royal de Musique* (Gand, 1893-1912). Copenhagen = *Das Musik-historische Museum du Kopenhagen* (Copenhagen, 1911). Paris = *Le Musée du Conservatoire National de Musique. Catalogue descr. et raisonné* (Paris, 1884). Supplements (Paris, 1894, 1899, and 1903).

See *New York*, Nos. 400, 406, 408, and 1324. *Brussels*, Nos. 398 and 399. *Copenhagen*, No. 547.

No. 3, *Gunibri* from Algeria.—Ovoid sound-chest of tortoise-shell. Cylindrical neck of wood, ornamented with incised rings. Skin belly fastened at the back with tautly drawn string. Seven sound-holes, including the one at the base. Two strings of gut are attached to the fork, which, passing over a high bridge, are fastened to two pegs in the neck. (No peg-box.)

| | cm. |
|---------------------------|------|
| Total length . . . | 55 |
| Length of sound-chest . . | 20 |
| Width of sound-chest . . | 14.5 |
| Depth of sound-chest . . | 5 |

No. 4, *Gunibri* from Algeria.—Pear-shaped sound-chest of wood, roughly finished, and inscribed on the back in black ink—الحمد لله واحد. Skin belly fastened with string and glue to the sound-chest. Cylindrical neck of wood, ornamented with incised rings and inscribed in black ink on the back—الحمد إليك الله, etc. No sound-holes other than the one at the base. Two strings (missing) are fastened as in No. 3. (One tuning-peg missing.)

| | cm. |
|---------------------------|------|
| Total length . . . | 53 |
| Length of sound-chest . . | 22.5 |
| Width of sound-chest . . | 8.5 |
| Depth of sound-chest . . | 5.5 |

No. 5, *Gunibri* from Tunisia.—Pear-shaped sound-chest of polished wood. Cylindrical neck of polished wood ornamented with incised rings. Skin belly fastened to the sound-chest as in No. 4. Five sound-holes including the one at the base. Two strings (missing) are fastened as in No. 3. (One tuning-peg missing.)

| | cm. |
|---------------------------|------|
| Total length . . . | 62 |
| Length of sound-chest . . | 26 |
| Width of sound-chest . . | 11.5 |
| Depth of sound-chest . . | 9.5 |

See *New York*, Nos. 415 (three strings), 419, and 420, all from Egypt, and with the bellies painted. *Paris*, Nos. 848 and 849, are also painted.

No. 6, *Gunibri* from Algeria.—Pear-shaped sound-chest, slightly waisted, of wood. Cylindrical neck of wood, the upper portion of which is detachable, so as to allow it to be more conveniently carried. This neck is ornamented with incised and turned rings, which are coloured blue, green, and red. Skin belly fastened as in No. 4. Two gut strings are attached as in No. 2. There are no sound-holes other than the one at the base.

| | cm. |
|---------------------------|-----|
| Total length . . . | 72 |
| Length of sound-chest . . | 31 |
| Width of sound-chest . . | 12 |
| Depth of sound-chest . . | 8.5 |

Another portable device is to make a groove in the back of the neck, which serves as a case for the fiṣ, called the *juwāq*.

See the instrument given in the *Catalogue of Musical Instruments . . . the Property of Henry Boddington* (Manchester, 1888), fig. 35.

For a gourd sound-chest see *New York*, Nos. 413, 1322, and 3488. *Michigan*, No. 1191. For a cocoa-nut sound-chest see *New York*, No. 404.

No. 7, *Gunbrī* from the Western Sūdān.—Oblong square sound-chest of wood, covered with leather and cloth, which are fastened with square-headed iron nails. Two rows of cowrie shells ornament the sides. Cylindrical neck of wood, from the top of which hang silken and leathern tassels, trinklets, chains, cowrie shells, and coins. A strap passes from the head to the foot of the instrument so that the minstrel can sling the instrument over his neck or shoulder. Skin belly fastened to the sound-chest with brass tacks. No sound-holes in the chest other than the one at the base. Three strings of gut are attached as in No. 1.

| | |
|-------------------------|------|
| | cm. |
| Total length . . . | 83.5 |
| Length of sound-chest . | 38.5 |
| Width of sound-chest . | 16.5 |
| Depth of sound-chest . | 12 |

See *New York*, No. 1326. *Michigan*, Nos. 1188 and 1189. For a boat-shaped sound-chest see Höst, op. cit.

NOTE

The *gunbrī* and *gunībrī* are not dealt with in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* despite the heading, "*Gimbri* [See *Konbur*]".

The Painted Pottery of Susa

By C. LEONARD WOOLLEY

WHEN publishing recently the painted pottery found at al 'Ubaid¹ I had necessarily to refer to that found by the French excavators at Susa and other mounds in that part of Persia. I pointed out that while at al 'Ubaid there were two types of painted pottery, the thick and the thin wares, which were contemporary and were associated with various types of plain and incised ware, and while there was a very definite difference between these wares and those of Susa and Musyan, yet certain analogies and parallels did exist both with the thin wares of Susa I and with the thick wares of Susa II, which have always been regarded as differing from each other very widely in date and in style, and the former of which was not associated with any other type of pottery.

The original publication of the Susa and other material in the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* by the actual excavators, of whom M. de Morgan was the chief, and by M. Pottier, lays it down as an axiom that Susa I is earlier than Susa II, and attempts to establish a continuous tradition connecting the two. One of the latest writers on the subject, Mr. H. Frankfort (*Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, and their earliest inter-relations*, Occasional Papers of the Royal Anthropological Institute, No. 6), while accepting the difference in date, strongly attacks the French theory of continuity, and attributes the two wares to two independent civilizations.

The basis of Mr. Frankfort's classification is a very brilliant and a very elaborate analysis of style; he finds that Susa I illustrates a "young" art, stylizing and essentially abstract; Susa II shows an "old" naturalistic and conventional art,

¹ *Ur Excavations*. Vol. I al-'Ubaid: Part II, The Cemetery, pp. 155 ff.

and this implies an absolutely opposite mentality; the second style cannot develop from the first, but must have an entirely separate origin.

I cannot help feeling that Mr. Frankfort's definitions of style, admirable for an analysis of an art whose material history is already known, are too subjective to serve as criteria for constructing the history of an art which presents itself to us undocumented. There are certain vases of the second style which he signalizes as obviously "old", and to me they appear as obviously "young"; the intention of his phraseology is clear enough, but its extension brings in too much of the personal element. But a more serious objection to Mr. Frankfort's theory is that by isolating Susa I from Susa II, and therefore from everything with which Susa II is associated, he is left with nothing but the painted vases to represent the pottery of the first period, and is driven to the supposition that pottery making was then but a new invention, and even to the doubt whether pottery for ordinary use existed at all; it was this conclusion that drew from me the reply (*al 'Ubaid*, p. 161) that "if no plain pottery was found associated with the painted, I should search for any explanation—even an oversight on the excavators' part—rather than regard this as an argument to such an improbable conclusion". In the volume from which I have quoted, the points which I wished to make did not necessitate a further inquiry into the Susa case; but here I might put forward certain facts which have escaped both sides in the dispute.

Both sides, as I have said, are in agreement on one point, that Susa I and Susa II belong to very different periods in time. This is precisely the point on which I feel doubtful.

The orthodox view rests on evidence of two sorts, external and internal, on stratification and on the character of the wares. The archæological evidence, so far as we have it—and Mr. Frankfort with justice deploras that the excavators have in this respect been only too chary of detail—shows conclusively that Susa I was always found below Susa II

and separated from it by a thick stratum of clean soil ; the pottery of Susa I is homogeneous and differs from that of Susa II in paste, in technique, in firing, in form, and in decoration.

The pottery of Susa I is very thin, very lightly fired, fragile, and porous ; unlike the hard thin wares of Musyan and al 'Ubaid, it could never have served any practical household purpose.

Its decoration, as Mr. Frankfort has shown, is largely skeuomorphic, derived from prototypes of leather or basket-work.

It is found in graves, and was obviously made expressly for graves, being useless for anything in life.

In this imitative decoration M. Pottier sees a schematic and conventional art betraying either incapacity or decadence, Mr. Frankfort " all the characteristics of an abstract style at the height of its development " and proof of an early stage in the history of the potter's art. There is another possibility which might almost reconcile both views, namely, that in pottery specially made for graves a religious conservatism preserved the forms and decoration of a primitive age long after such had passed out of living use, and that convention had crystallized, with occasional lapses into slackness, the " masterful *élan* " of youth. There is support for this in the character of the pottery itself. Did the graves of Susa really represent the output of a young craft, we should expect to find all kinds of experiments both in form and in applied ornament ; actually the shapes of the vases (of which there are hundreds) are only four, and not only are the decorative motives very few, but the scheme of decoration is inseparable from the shape of the pot, so that the ornament characteristic of an open bowl is never found on a straight-sided tumbler or on a jar. This means tradition of a very hard and fast kind. The fact that all the vessels are either made on the *tournette* or regularly wheel-made proves that pottery making had long been practised ; if in pottery intended for graves

a necessarily primitive skeuomorphic decoration is still used, and its varieties are rigidly confined to the shapes appropriate to them, that means tradition based on religious conservatism.

The pottery of Susa II is thick, reasonably well fired, and eminently useful. Its shapes are real ceramic shapes; in decoration all skeuomorphic tradition has disappeared and the motives, where not geometric, are naturalistic in style, but the general scheme of decoration is eminently suited to the form of the individual vase and is calculated to bring out its architectural values. The potter of Susa II is not performing a religious rite; himself the product of evolution, perhaps a rather decadent product, working, with a free hand, to catch a market in which his wares were no longer too highly prized, he may sink to the stereotyped and the slovenly or he may at times give play to his imagination and produce something new and individual, but he is always sufficiently an artist to observe the essential congruity of form and pattern no less scrupulously than did the maker of the tall "leather-jack" goblets of Susa I.

Widely different as is the effect produced at first sight by the two classes of pottery, I believe that this is deceptive, and that, if one bears in mind the very different purposes for which they were undoubtedly made, the very different traditions which those purposes necessarily impose, and the intimate and exclusive relation between shape and decoration which inspires both classes alike, then one will find that the "internal evidence" has been unduly forced, and that this apparent dissimilarity does not suffice to prove any great difference of date, certainly not an independence of origin. Equally the arguments I have put forward, while they invalidate the orthodox conclusion, do not suffice to prove it wrong, still less to establish any other thesis; they simply clear the ground of prejudice.

Next for the "external" evidence, which both the excavators and Mr. Frankfort have assumed to be conclusive. This is summarized in the *Coupe théorique*, published by

M. de Morgan in the 13th volume of the *Mémoires* here reproduced as Fig. 1, and by his description of the strata from the base upwards, as follows :—

1. A la base, les collines naturelles.
2. Les vestiges de la première ville, avec son mur d'enceinte et sa necropole extérieure.
3. Une épaisseur de 5 a 8 mètres de terre jaune très compact, dans laquelle on rencontre des cachets archaïques, des frag-

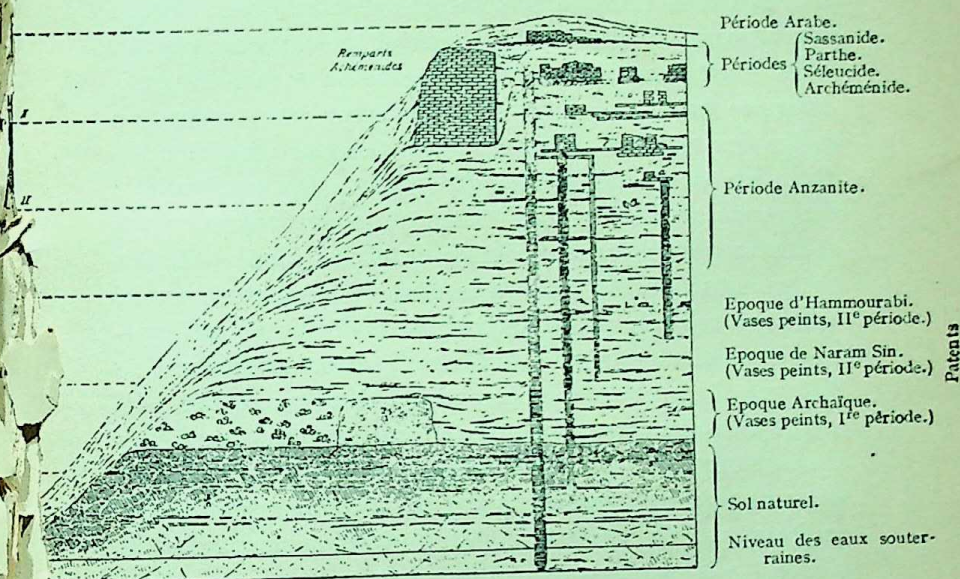


FIG. 1.—Coupe théorique des ruines de l'Acropole à Suse.
(Reproduced from *Délégation en Perse. Mémoires*, Tome xiii, p. 23.
Paris, 1912. By kind permission of M. Ernest Leroux.)

ments de vases peints de moins en moins nombreux au fur et à mesure qu'on s'élève, vases et amulettes d'albâtre.

4. Une zone que j'attribue à l'époque de Naram-Sin, contenant la céramique dite de la seconde période, . . . apparition des cylindres-cachets et de la céramique incisée.

5. Partie supérieure de cette zone : céramique peinte de même nature très développée . . . textes, inscriptions.

6. Époque de Hammouabi. Même art, mais disparition des vases peints de la seconde période.

It is true that the material for forming an independent judgment is here reduced to a minimum by the suppression of a vast amount of detailed evidence observed in the course of the work ; but such detail might well at the moment (and later by one not acquainted with the site) have been accorded undue weight ; by the time the work was over a very large area had been excavated, and we must assume that M. de Morgan's section, however schematized, does take all detail into account and give a fair picture of the combined results. A few further remarks occur in the text : " dans la partie examinée jusqu'à ce jour du Vme niveau nous voyons au centre les vestiges d'une bourgade, autour une muraille d'enceinte et, en dehors de cette enceinte, les sépultures " ; the graves are not found all round the walls, but in groups at certain points, perhaps near the gates : inside the rampart the primitive habitations are marked by alternate layers of ashes and rubbish, containing fragments of painted pottery—no complete vases were found here ; unfortunately we are told very little about the character of these fragments.

The area excavated was large (750 square metres, including the cemetery), and to judge from the comments of the different excavators, the phenomena were, as is to be expected, not uniform over the whole of it. M. de Morgan summarizes as above, " a thickness of from 5 to 8 metres of compact yellow earth, in which occur archaic seals, fragments of painted pottery, growing less and less numerous as one gets higher, alabaster vases and amulets," the description covering the whole depth from the primitive settlement to the Naram-Sin level : " Separated from the cemetery level by a zone 7 to 8 metres thick in which nothing occurs except numerous hand-made vessels of rough clay, the Elamite civilization suddenly reappears " (Pézar, in *Antiquités de la Susiane*, p. 12) ; with this de Mecquenem agrees, " In any case we can prove a gap of civilization on the acropolis tell, since above

the painted pottery and up to the second level we find nothing but coarse pottery, often hand-made, and undecorated." In the centre of the tell M. de Mecquenem found an artificial platform of crude bricks and compressed earth. M. Jéquier, in the small area excavated by him, remarked "a layer one or two metres thick which includes no house remains and contains virtually no objects", which he attributed to levelling.¹ Allowing for inequalities in the underlying stratum of the primitive town, it is clear none the less that the dotted horizontal line which in M. de Morgan's *coupe* defines the transition from the Fifth Level to the zone of Naram-Sin, is very much of a generalization; actually the "levelling" inside the wall was piecemeal, and its surface very irregular, different platforms having been contrived to take different buildings; but that does not prevent the whole being roughly contemporary.

The thickness of the deposit of ashes and rubbish representing the early settlement is not given, but from a dead reckoning of the strata (five to eight metres of yellow earth, etc., between it and the zone attributed to Naram-Sin) it cannot have been very great; part at any rate of the yellow earth layer must lie below the existing top of the wall, which is shown as standing three metres high.

The factors therefore are, the wall stump, graves outside it, scattered throughout the three metre depth of the layer defined in the *coupe*, and ending flush with the wall remains, and inside the wall a mass composed of (a) house ruins and (b) above these, mixed soil in which no house remains were found, the "yellow earth" of M. de Morgan; these form a

¹ Mr. Frankfort objects to this explanation (his comment that "a levelling which produces one or two metres of practically clear soil is most unusual" is mistaken; that is just what the destruction of mud brick walls does; and the objection if valid at all would tell equally against his own theory) and supposes that the clean stratum is due to the desertion of the site and the gradual decay of its houses after a second period of occupation marked by red pottery and stamp seals brought in by strangers from the north.

single stratum between the virgin soil and the Naram-Sin zone in which the Susa II pottery appears. It was assumed by the excavators and accepted without question by other writers that the contents of this stratum were necessarily of the same date. If anything is archæologically certain, it is that they are not.

Houses are built on the level of the ground (I am speaking of course of primitive houses, where foundations are shallow at best), and graves are dug down into it. Identity of level is in itself enough to disprove identity of date. In the present case the archaic settlement was set on the natural soil, and though the hillocks of this have in the schematized section been reduced to a straight line, we can safely assume that the ground level on the two sides of the town wall was the same, i.e. that shown by the *coupe*. Had the earliest graves been contemporary with the earliest settlement, they would have been below the base line; actually all are above it. The interments can only have taken place when against the outer face of the wall there had accumulated a depth of soil sufficient to contain them. If this accumulation was due to the throwing out of rubbish from the town over the wall, it does not date from the time of the primitive settlement. The early houses were almost certainly made of plain mud or wattle and daub; the "alternate layers of ashes and rubbish represent the series of such constructions, each put up over the ruins of its predecessor; both types of construction are short-lived, and the amount of debris produced *in situ* by the collapse of a building of the sort is considerably greater than would be the sum of the refuse carried out from it and thrown away during the period of its occupation". In other words, the ground level inside the wall would tend to rise much faster than that outside it, and by the time there was a deposit of two or three metres against the outer wall face, the house sites inside would have been probably five metres up above the natural soil. Actually the house remains form, so far as the evidence goes, a very thin deposit, whereas the graves

come up flush with the top of the wall and, since there must have been earth above the highest of them, even if they were not dug particularly deep, the deposit at the end of the cemetery period was at least four metres high.

If the above estimate of the relative rise of levels inside and outside the wall be thought wrong, and my interpretation of the evidence as showing the stratum of house rubbish to have been a thin one be held mistaken, if, in other words, it be maintained that at the end of the primitive period the wall footings might have been earthed up equally on both sides, with on the outside four metres of accumulated rubbish containing the graves and on the inside house ruins of the same depth or even less, I must answer that this is, archaeologically speaking, equally impossible, for how, in that case, does the wall come to be destroyed down to its present level? Protected on both sides, it could not have been destroyed by any natural process of weathering, not, that is, while the deposit outside retains a horizontal surface flush with the wall top for a distance of not less than seven and a half metres from the wall face. Figure 2 will make this point clear: assuming an equal depth of deposit on both sides, the dotted line A . . . A shows the first results of destruction or desertion of the site, the second dotted line B . . . B the results of prolonged denudation by natural causes. Neither line bears the least relation to what the excavators found and recorded. Again, assuming the equal depth of deposit, the destruction of the wall was not due to artificial levelling, for no one wishing to make a level area for new building would remove a metre or more of good solid stuff over a space 750 metres square; levelling in an ancient oriental town was always done by pulling down the upper parts of standing walls and using the material so obtained to fill up the hollows between them; then fresh material might be brought in to cover up the whole; the result is to *raise* the level, not to lower it. However we may interpret the evidence in detail, the outstanding facts revealed by the excavations are irreconcilable with any theory

that the made soil of the cemetery was contemporary with the house remains of the lowest strata inside the wall. The graves therefore must be later than the primitive settlement.

This being so, do the facts take us any further ?

The wall was reduced to its present height before there was much deposit against its outer face ; by the time the uppermost graves were dug, they being flush with the wall top, the deposit must have been higher than the wall is now ;

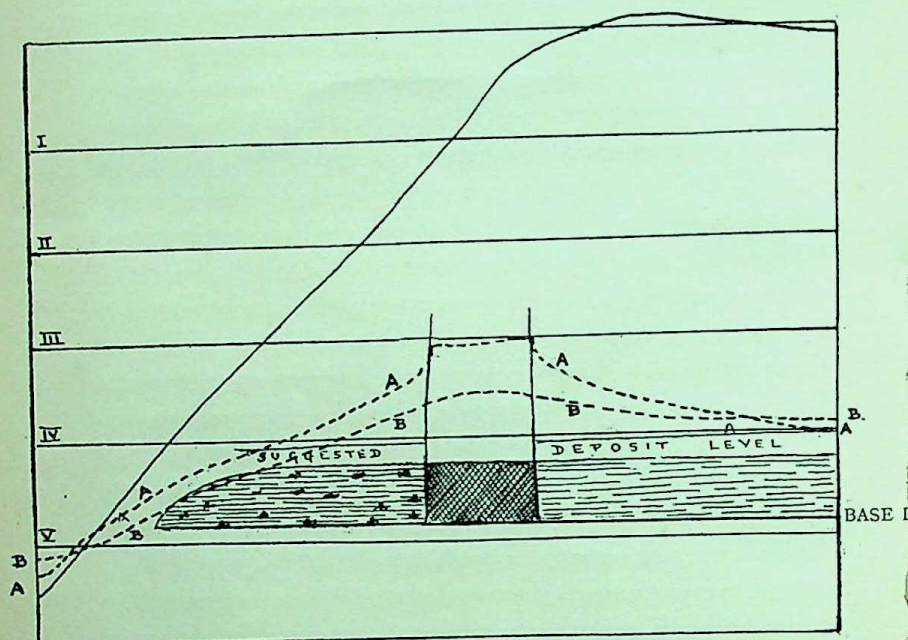


FIG. 2.

on the other hand, the graves are found only outside the wall, not inside it, and so the wall must have existed sufficiently to demarcate the cemetery area. Inside the wall, dividing the early house strata from the Naram-Sin zone, there is a layer of more or less barren soil which M. Jéquier rightly diagnosed as due to artificial levelling ; it is not uniform but varies in height from 5 to 8 metres above the (irregular) base line ; the upper part of it contains fewer objects than

the lower ; this stratification appears to go only so far as the inner face of the wall, but the remains of the Naram-Sin and Hammurabi periods apparently extend beyond it, as no limit to these is shown on the *coupe*.

It seems to me impossible to dissociate the destruction of the wall from the filling in of the town area behind it ; the lower part of the filling would result from the demolition of houses, the upper part from the razing of the wall ; the stump of the old wall would be left to serve as the retaining-wall of the new terrace or terraces ; possibly it served also as the foundation for a new (and less massive) town wall which has now disappeared. During the process of demolition a great deal of debris would necessarily collect against the outside of the wall also ; possibly levelling was done on this side too, and the raising of the outer level was not merely accidental ; later more rubbish was thrown here, and by the time of the latest interments the extramural level had risen to a height of some four, or perhaps five, metres, and was virtually flush with the Naram-Sin zone. By this time the old wall stump had been buried out of sight, but its function as demarcating the cemetery area had been taken over by the walls of the houses on the terraces.

I think it is demonstrably the case that the graves, at any rate the higher graves, are later than anything which lies behind and not higher than the surviving stump of the town wall, later therefore than the primitive town and the deposit of yellow earth. In this yellow earth and within the "Vme niveau" of the *coupe* come the seals and red pottery which Mr. Frankfort attributes to Northern influence (or immigration) at the close of the "Susa I period", and thus there must disappear the "intermediate stratum"¹ with which he

¹ M. Jéquier too is struck by the difference between the contents of this stratum and those of the graves : " Ici nous sommes en presence d'une civilization toute differente " ; the difference may be due to the red pottery being earlier (instead of later) than the painted wares of the graves, but the real point is that one cannot deduce the character of household utensils from the dummy pottery made for the dead according to a traditional formula.

fortifies his theory of a different racial origin for "Susa II". If we are justified in correlating the formation of the extra-mural deposit and the destruction of the old town wall with the internal levelling which ushers in the painted pottery called "Susa II", then it seems that the graves should be considered contemporary with the new settlement and the thin pottery of the graves contemporary with the thick painted pots and the incised wares of the Naram-Sin zone.

It will be objected that I have left out of consideration the definite statement of the excavators that in the house ruins of the primitive settlement there occurred numerous fragments of "Susa I" pottery. It is a pity that we are not told more about these fragments, but we cannot do other than accept the report as given. It does not invalidate my contention. The house remains, forming a thin stratum, do not represent any very prolonged period, and they are immediately succeeded by the levelling which I attribute to the users of the thin tomb pottery of "Susa I"; the difference in date need be very small, and there is certainly no reason to assume that implies a difference in civilization. The real stumbling-block caused by this pottery is this—why should house ruins contain numerous fragments of vessels which by common consent can only have been made for graves and were useless for practical purposes? Personally I prefer to think that they did not, and in so thinking I am casting no slur on the excavators. They describe the fragments simply as "Susa I". Now at Musyan and the neighbouring tells they found painted pottery in house ruins which also they describe as "Susa I", but, as Mr. Frankfort has pointed out, this ware is distinct from the grave pottery of Susa and is definitely utilitarian, "household earthenware." By the French excavators the term "Susa I" is thus given, as it should be given, a wider extension than the funerary ware of the period, and they gave it this extension, perhaps unconsciously, when they applied the term to the fragments from the early town. All that the field evidence, as we have it, shows, is that in the

pre-Naram-Sin period a painted pottery was in use which was closely related to that of the immediately succeeding Naram-Sin period. This, I think, was to be expected.

The suggestion that "Susal I" and "Susal II" are really contemporary receives a degree of support from discoveries at other sites. M. Pottier states that in the Musyan mounds "the pottery of the first style and that of the second are found mixed together in the remains of the houses"; the actual excavators distinguished these house fragments into two classes, thick and thin, of which they identify the former with Susal I and regard the second as a decadent derivative from it. Much plain pottery was found with the painted wares. Further, in graves, another type of painted pottery occurred. Mr. Frankfort has established the fact that none of these wares are identical with those discovered at Susal: the thin pottery resembles "Susal I" and belongs to the same class, but is a later development; the thick pottery (which M. Pottier calls "Susal II") is contemporary with the thin, together with which it is found, and the grave pottery, though it approaches to Susal II, cannot be identified with it. To some extent the differences may be due to local styles, but it is more probable that they are due to the Musyan material being later in date than the Susal grave vessels.¹

It is worth noting that as soon as we get, at Musyan, wares which diverge slightly from the established Susal types, the authorities cannot agree to which of the Susal "periods" they ought to be assigned; this rather weakens the argument that the differences between Susal I and Susal II are such as to necessitate a long lapse of time and even an independence of origin. But the important point is that here thick and thin wares are proved to be contemporary and have features in common both with the thick and with the thin wares of Susal.

¹ To me it appears unquestionably later. The later date of Musyan might account for the really different feature of the site, namely, that for the graves the traditional skeuomorphic pottery has been abandoned and we find instead of it large polychrome jars.

At al 'Ubaid we found thick and thin painted wares. As I have pointed out elsewhere, they are by no means to be identified with the Susa types, but they have enough in common both with the thick and with the thin wares of Susa to make some kind of connexion certain, and since the two classes at al 'Ubaid are strictly contemporary that connexion would be inconceivable if the Susa classes belonged to very different dates or to different civilizations. It was this difficulty which started me on the present line of investigation.

What, then, is the result of it ?

That the Susa graves are later than the primitive settlement is, on archaeological grounds, indisputable. Their connexion with the "Naram-Sin" zone is a very probable hypothesis. This late dating of the grave pottery does not mean that painted wares were only introduced about 3000 B.C. ; on the contrary, the argument that the forms and designs of the grave vessels represent a survival implies a previous history ; but the only material surviving from the earlier period would be the fragments from the house ruins, which we should expect to resemble the grave wares rather than "Susa II" for the very reason that they would come closer in time to the originals from which "Susa I" tradition derives : the fact that they could be described by the excavators as "Susa I" is thus no stumbling-block at all. But this is not equivalent to saying that the grave style (Susa I) is the original of the house style (Susa II) ; it is more probable that painted pottery was in domestic use before any was employed for graves, for the same conservative spirit which preserved for the dead the painted clay copies of leather vessels would have continued to put real leather vessels in the graves long after pottery had replaced clay for living use ; the skeuomorphic vases represent the application of a familiar craft—the turning and painting of clay—to a demand which literally interpreted had grown out-of-date and irksome. It is only within strict limits that we can argue back from the grave vases to an earlier phase of the painted pottery as a whole ;

of that we should get a truer idea from the household wares ; this is why M. Pottier, who recognized the close relation between "Susa I" and "Susa II", laid himself open to Mr. Frankfort's criticism when he tried to establish a direct line of succession between them.

The connexion, and the differences, between the Susa material as a whole and that of southern Sumer has been discussed in *al 'Ubaid* and referred to above. On technical grounds we should suppose the Sumerian to be the earlier of the two, because while the bulk of the Sumerian pottery is hand-made and only some examples betray the use of the *tournette*, the Susa pottery (both Susa I and Susa II) is made either on the *tournette* or on the fully developed potter's wheel. This technical point does not in itself constitute proof, but in this case it is supported by actual dating. At Ur the painted pottery had entirely disappeared by 3500 B.C. ; in the graves of that period no trace of it is found and even the soil in which the graves are dug produced scarcely a sherd of it : in Persia Susa II admittedly, and Susa I also, if the reasoning given above be correct, comes as low as 3000 B.C. Further north in Sumeria we have the painted wares of Jamdat Nasr, which are quite distinct from those of the south, and judging from the tablets found with them come in time between the painted pottery of *al 'Ubaid* and the 3500 B.C. graves of Ur. Jamdat Nasr has little in common with Susa, but does connect with Musyan, which Mr. Frankfort rightly considers to be later than Susa (i.e., in his argument, than Susa II) : Jamdat Nasr therefore stands in much the same relation to *al 'Ubaid* as does Musyan to Susa, but in each case the Sumerian wares are earlier than the Persian. We seem to have in the two countries a parallel development, deriving from a common source, but achieved far more rapidly in Sumer : in each the transition from the earlier to the later style (i.e. from Susa to Musyan and from *al 'Ubaid* to Jamdat Nasr) may well be due to influences from the north. In Sumer painted pottery dies out very early. In Asia Minor it survives until the

Greek period. In Susa it lasts until Naram-Sin at least, and work on Persian sites further north would probably show that the tradition continued much later there.

Everybody, I think, has felt that as a time series Susa I-Susa II-Musyan is not satisfactory ; hence the divergence of views between M. Pottier and Mr. Frankfort. With Susa I and Susa II reduced to two aspects of one phase of civilization the site is brought into harmony with others, the process of development becomes reasonable, and the archæological facts receive their only possible interpretation.

Mitlani

VON FERDINAND BORK

IM *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Oktober, 1926, hat Hannes Skoeld eine Arbeit "Sur la lettre en langue Mitanni" veröffentlicht.

Ich bekenne, dass ich kein Bedürfnis fühle, darauf zu antworten, denn was Skoeld schrieb, kann nur schreiben, wer der Frage der Entzifferung unbekannter Sprachen sehr ferne steht, d.h. also, wer über meine Mitani-Studien kein Urteil haben kann. Aber zu Nutze und Frommen der Anderen, gerade derer, die sich darüber kein Urteil anmassen, und die doch aus den Aeusserungen scheinbar oder wirklich Urteilsberechtigter sich allmählich selbst ein Urteil erfüllen wollen, halte ich es doch für meine Pflicht zu antworten. Es soll möglichste Klarheit gewonnen werden, damit die Sache gefördert werde.

So sei denn allen denen, die Entzifferungen praktisch fern stehen, ausdrücklich gesagt, dass es natürlich ganz unmöglich ist, eine gänzlich unbekannte Sprache aus einem, wenn auch langen, so doch auf grössere Strecken stark beschädigten Briefe auf einen Anhieb mit dem Anspruche auf vollkommene Richtigkeit zu entziffern. Es kann also nur als Unwissenheit gewertet werden, wenn Skoeld glaubt, von mir voraussetzen zu können, dass ich den Anspruch erheben wolle, den Mitani-brief einwandfrei übersetzt zu haben, wo es sich doch nur darum handeln kann, durch steten Tropfen den Stein zu höhlen. Jeder besonnene Forscher muss sich darüber klar sein, dass sich beim Mitani-briefe die Entzifferung des Akkadischen wiederholen muss. Das ist so selbstverständlich, dass kein Eingearbeiteter vom Entzifferer verlangen wird, dass er es noch besonders ausspreche.

Ferner ist meine Arbeit nicht nur 15 Jahre alt gewesen, als Skoeld schrieb, sondern in diese 15 Jahre fallen die neuen Einsichten in die Sachlage durch den Fund von Boghazköi.

Was also heute durch diesen Fund Gemeingut der Forschung ist, werde ich doch wohl ebenso gut wissen wie Skoeld—vielleicht auch besser—auch wenn ich darüber nicht geschrieben habe. Ich habe auch 1908 sehr wohl gewusst, dass wir ein mesopotamisches geschriebenes š auch als s lesen können,¹ Skoeld scheint aber nicht erwogen zu haben, dass man auch arisches š doch nur durch die š-Zeichen schreiben konnte, und dass iranisch ein *dus* doch zu *duš* werden musste; wenn man also, wie damals üblich, die arisch klingenden Namen von El-Amarna als iranisch auffasste, dann durfte man eben nicht *dus* lesen. Die Entscheidung war damals unmöglich, und sie ist es auch heute noch, weil eben die š-Zeichen auch š-Laute ausdrücken können. Darum war es für jeden Keilschriftler selbstverständlich, dass ich diese Fragen ebenso bei Seite lassen musste, wie Jensen und Messerschmidt, die ebenso genau wussten, dass die š-Zeichen auch s ausdrücken konnten. Heute lesen wir “Dušratta”, obwohl auch Dusratta möglich wäre, aber wir wissen auch, seit G. Hüsings bahnbrechendem Vorgehen,² dass die fraglichen Namen indisch sind. Und damit stellt sich auch die Frage ganz anders, welcher s-Laut in “Šutarna” gemeint sei—es könnte ja auch ein “palatales” s sein, und da die ägyptische Schrift für dieses kein Zeichen zur Verfügung hatte, so scheidet ihre Autorität überhaupt aus. Und ob in dem Namen das indische *su* stecke, ist wiederum sehr fraglich, seitdem die Form “Šutatarra” aufgetaucht ist: das *šuta* könnte auch eine paliartige Form für skrt. *śruta* meinen, was weit wahrscheinlicher ist: ein indischer Name “Śrutataruna” wäre begreiflich genug, aber was soll denn “Su-tatarna” sein?

Oder nehmen wir den Namen, den gerade ich zuerst

¹ Vgl. auch Ungnad, Die ältesten Völkerwanderungen Vorderasiens (1923), S. 11, Anm. 1.

² G. Hüsing, Die Inder von Boghazköi, in der Baudouin de Courtenay-Festschrift (Prace Linguistyczne usw.) Krakau, 1921.

“Keluhipa” gegenüber dem “Gi-lu-hi-pa” aller meiner Vorgänger umschreibe, während Skoeld Gi-lu-hi-pa schreibt trotz dem ägyptischen Kjlqip, das er nach W. M. Müllers heute überholter Schreibung widergibt. Hier werde ich belehrt, dass das ägyptische “g”-Zeichen etwas wie ein “gh” widergebe, als ob das von Skoeld neuestens entdeckt sei. Schrieb doch schon Erman: “ Δ g ist ein dem β nahestehender Laut, den wir nicht näher kennen”, und etwas wie gh—Spirans oder Aspirata?—sucht Hüsing ja auch im Namen Harri.¹ Aber es ist doch klar, dass die Frage, ob die Mitanisprache solches gh habe, erst aufgeworfen werden kann, wenn fest steht, dass “Keluhipa” kein indischer Name ist! Denn ist es ein solcher, so besagt seine Schreibung mit dem h-Zeichen nichts für dessen Lautwert im Mitani. Kurz, Dinge, über die bisher (und zumal 1908!) eine Entscheidung ganz unmöglich war, habe ich nicht zum Auffüllen meines Büchleins verwenden wollen.

Auf derselben Stufe steht Skoelds Vorwurf, dass ich den Lautwert des t in “Mitani” nicht untersucht hätte. Da mir W. M. Müllers “Asien und Europa” seit weit über 30 Jahren bekannt ist, habe ich natürlich auch gewusst, was Müller S. 283 über die ägyptische Widergabe des Namens zusammenstellt. Aus diesen Schreibungen einen Schluss auf die besondere Art des t abzuleiten, erschien und erscheint mir ganz unmöglich, und noch ausgeschlossener, dass es ein Spirant sei! Das Schwanken der Lautbedeutung liegt ja hier auf ägyptischer Seite, denn das fragliche Zeichen kann im Aegyptischen auch ein t ausdrücken, was Skoeld ja selbst nach Müller anführt, während ein t der Keilschrift als Spirant für diese Zeit unannehmbar ist. Aber die Unsicherheit in der Deutung des ägyptischen Lautes geht viel weiter: es ist nämlich möglich, dass ein vermittelndes Volk, etwa in der Nachbarschaft von Kilikien, im Aramäergebiete, ein t vor n als Spirans aussprach, so dass der hörende Aegypter

¹ G. Hüsing, D. Wanderung der arischen Inder (Tagungsberichte der Deutschen Anthropologischen Gesellschaft. Wien, 1927, S. 120-124).

das bewusste Zeichen der Keilschrift lesende aber t schrieb.

Und noch mehr dürfte zu beachten sein, dass ein t in "Mitani" ein Lateral sein dürfte, so dass wir auch **Mitlani* umschreiben könnten, vielleicht für damals sogar **Mehlani*, woraus dann *Mehrani* wurde (Assurahiaddin, Prisma A, Col. II, Z. 25, Keilinschriftl. Biblioth., Bd. II, S. 128).

Ich glaube also doch nicht, dass ich in drei wesentlichen Punkten die wahre Natur der Mitani-Laute verkannt hätte, geschweige denn der Mitani-Sprache, wie Skoeld daraus ableitet. Vielmehr glaube ich nicht allein zu stehen mit meiner Meinung, dass der "Schlüssel" zu dieser Sprache im Verbaldrucke zu suchen sei, nicht in ganz subjektiven Lautbestimmungen und ebenso nicht im Wortschatze.

Dass ich diesen nicht missachte, wenn ich auch "kein Gewicht auf lexikalische Uebereinstimmungen zwischen dem Mitani und den kaukasischen Sprachen" lege, die um $3\frac{1}{2}$ Jahrtausende von ihm getrennt sind, ergibt sich doch wohl daraus, dass mich die verwandten altkaukasischen Sprachen auf den Gedanken brachten, dass das Wort für "Gattin" nicht "*ašti*" sondern *ruti* zu lesen sein möge. In der Orientalist. Lit. Ztg. 1918, Sp. 271 hat dann Hüsing die entsprechenden Wörter zusammengefasst—einschliesslich des Tamil!—und dabei bereits meine jüngere Lesung *roti* angemerkt, die ich aber nicht mehr aufrecht erhalte, und Ungnad hat mit Unrechte gemeint (Die ältesten Völkerwanderungen. S. 5), dass diese Lesung nur einer Hypothese wegen vertreten werde, man kann vielmehr umgekehrt sagen, dass die Lesung *ašti* auf einer Hypothese ruhe, weil sie sich dem semitischen *aštu* anschliesst. Dass ich auch sonst das Lexikalische nicht ausser Acht gelassen habe, zeigt meine Seite 71 ja wohl zur Genüge. Aber meine Jahrzehnte lange Beschäftigung mit alten und modernen kaukasischen Sprachen hat mich auch gelehrt, dass in dieser Sprachgruppe nicht entfernt das Gewicht so auf das Lexikalische zu legen ist wie in den arischen (indoeuro-

päischen) Sprachen oder gar im Semitischen. Und eben darum stört es mich wenig, wenn wir bisher nicht viele lexikalische Uebereinstimmungen finden.

Hier sei aber noch etwas zur Klärung ausgesprochen: Von "kaukasischen" Sprachen reden wir zur Zeit eigentlich nur aus Bequemlichkeit. Schon 1916 hat Hüsing in seinen "Völkerschichten in Iran" (Mitt. d. Anthropolog. Gesellschaft. Wien.) S. 223 ausgesprochen, dass die Ueberhochschädel nicht gut Hättiter sein können, und hat auf die Voranstellung des Genetivs in der einen, seine Nachstellung in der anderen Gruppe verwiesen, verwendet aber für beide noch den Ausdruck "kaukasisch". Diese Zusammenfassung unter einem Namen ist aber nur ein einstweiliger Notbehelf, denn auch Hüsing meint ja, dass hier zwei ganz verschiedene Sprachstämme seit uralter Zeit einander durchwachsen haben. Und Ungnad (a.a.O. S. 7) betont, dass die "Hättiterschädel" nicht den Hättitern sondern den "Subaräern" angehören, wofür wir wohl einfacher und wohl auch richtiger "Sürer" sagen. Damit ist aber nicht ausgeschlossen, dass noch andere Rassen- und Sprachstammreste sich hinter dem Gewirre von Völkern und Sprachen verbergen, die wir vor der Hand als "kaukasische" bezeichnen. Da mit diesem Ausdrucke ja keine Herkunft aus dem Kaukasos selbst sondern aus dessen Umgebung gemeint ist, so ist dieser Ausdruck sicher dem "vorderasiatisch" von Luschans vorzuziehen, in dem ja eine Lehrmeinung eingebettet liegt, die unbeweisbar ist: Denn diese Völkermasse ist nicht die Urbevölkerung, also in Vorderasien nicht autochthon, und das Anrecht auf diese Benennung "vorderasiatisch" hätte entweder nur die Urbevölkerung oder—alle Rassen und Sprachen, die ihre hauptsächliche Rolle in Vorderasien gespielt haben. (Der Ausdruck "japhetitisch" erscheint mir so unter aller Kritik, dass ich über diese Eigenbrödelei weiter kein Wort verliere, nachdem ich mich in der Zeitschrift "Mannus" (1922, S. 174 ff.) dazu geäußert habe.)

Bei solcher Lage der Dinge ist es wohl gerechtfertigt, die Frage der Zugehörigkeit des Mitani nicht von der Masse der lexikalischen Uebereinstimmungen abhängig machen zu wollen. Das Entscheidende ist gerade bei diesen Sprachen ohne Zweifel der Satzbau und in diesem in erster Reihe die Frage des verbalen Ausdruckes. Diesem war also meine Arbeit in erster Reihe gewidmet, und damit glaube ich immerhin ganz lohnende Arbeit am Feilen des Schlüssels geleistet zu haben. Nur was ich für diesen Zweck an phonetischen Studien brauchte, nämlich die genauere Ermittlung der Zeichenwerte, habe ich berücksichtigt, und wenn Skoeld meint, ich habe die wahre phonetische Natur der Mitanisprache nicht begriffen, so hat er damit so sicher recht, wie wenn er gesagt hätte, ich sei nie am Nordpole gewesen. Aber einerseits hat er keine Ahnung von den Schwierigkeiten, über die ich neuerlich in meiner "Skizze des Lükischen" (Leipzig, Hahn und Seifarth, 1926) in § 31 ff. meine Ansicht entwickelt habe, und andererseits hat er auch nicht begriffen, wo der Weg zu den Erkenntnissen führt, sonst könnte er seinen Aufsatz nicht geschrieben haben.

Aber sei meine Uebersetzung im wesentlichen richtig oder nicht, so ist es eine andere Frage, ob meine Ergebnisse ausreichen, die Zugehörigkeit der Sprache zu anderen erkennen zu lassen. Skoelds Schlüsse wirken, wie wenn sie nach einem Leitfaden der Logik angefertigt wären, aber die wissenschaftliche Forschung bedarf anderer Mittel, die Voraussetzungen müssen richtig sein, sonst gehen alle Schlüsse daneben, und das Ganze ist die naive Spielerei eines Fernstehenden, dem man kein Urteil zugestehen kann. Skoeld kennt die Bedingungen nicht, unter denen wir arbeiten, weiss nicht abzuschätzen, was sich überhaupt erreichen lässt, ja er verzichtet selbst auf ein Urteil über die Richtigkeit meiner Uebersetzung.

Wie liegen nun die Dinge in Wahrheit, wie kann man die Lage dem Nichtfachmanne näher bringen ?

Eine wirklich richtige Uebersetzung wird man unter günstigen Umständen—und nur wenn man in meinem Sinne weiter arbeitet—vielleicht in 100 Jahren erzielen können, es ist aber nicht wahrscheinlich. Diese Einsicht muss der Entzifferer bei Jedem voraussetzen, dem er ein Urteil zubilligen kann. Skoeld bringt diese Einsicht nicht mit, sonst könnte er sich nicht so ausdrücken, wie er es überall tut. Wir haben keine Bilinguen, müssen Wortbedeutungen und Inhalt erraten und dann nachzuprüfen versuchen, ob beide überhaupt richtig sein können, und weiters, ob es noch andre Möglichkeiten gibt.

Eine der schwierigsten Fragen des Mitani ist die Bestimmung der Pronomina personalia und possessiva, die vor mir schon Messerschmidt viel Mühe gemacht haben. Ich hatte mich im Wesentlichen meinem Vorgänger angeschlossen; nur hatte ich Bedenken getragen, ihm darin zu folgen, zwei Suffixe für "unser" anzunehmen, *šu-š* und *iffa-šu-š*, wie ich jetzt lesen möchte, und ich hatte versucht, im Hinblick auf Messerschmidts *šu-š* "ich" das erstere als eine besondere Ausdrucksform für "mein" aufzufassen, obwohl die Stellen II, 78 und IV, 117 für *enna-šu-š* die Bedeutung "unsere Herren" nahe legen. Weil nun aber in III, 112 f. "meinem Bruder" durch *šen-iffa-šu-ta* widergegeben wird, während unmittelbar vorher und nachher "mein Bruder" *šen-iffu-* lautet, so schloss ich, dass "mein" und "unser" im Gebrauche durch einander gehen, und hielt mein Abweichen von Messerschmidt nicht für besonders belangreich.

Seit einigen Jahren freilich bin ich geneigt, Messerschmidt in gewissem Sinne recht zu geben, und sowohl *-šu-š* als auch *-iffa-šu-š* als Suffixe für "unser" anzusehen. Eine reichlich 7 Jahre zurück gehende Beobachtung G. Hüsings hatte mich dazu veranlasst. Er sucht den Ausdruck des "unser" in dem Elemente *-šu-*, während *-iffa-* nur bindender Art sei. *enna-šu-š* "unsere Herren" einerseits, und *ifr-iffa-šu-uš* "unsere Könige" nebst *atta-iffa-šu-š* "unsere Väter" andererseits sind also zwei verschiedene Typen des gleichen

Possessivausdruckes. Hüsing hat auch die notwendige Folgerung gezogen, daß das bindende *-iffa-* auch in dem Possessivausdrucke *-iffu-* der 1. Pers. Sing. enthalten sein muss, und zerlegt ihn in *-iff(a) + u*. Er sieht also in dem Elemente *-u* allein den Possessivausdruck der 1. Pers. Sing.

Diese Beobachtungen Hüsing's schaffen Licht nach vielen Seiten: 1. Der Ausdruck des "mein" und "dein", der bei Messerschmidt kaum auseinander zu halten war, ist jetzt wesentlich verschieden. 2. Das Possessiv-Suffixe *-u* "mein" erweist sich als gleichgestaltig dem verbalen Suffixe *-u* "ich", z. B. in *tana-u* "ich gebe". 3. Mitanisches *-u* "ich", "mein" ist das genaue Gegenbild des elamischen *u* "ich", "mein" und ist wie dieses mit dem georgischen *v-*, z. B. in *v-kben* "ich beisse", *v-šli* "ich entfalte", zu verbinden. 4. Das Messerschmidtsche *šu-š* "ich", wenn es richtig bestimmt ist, wird als entstanden aus einem Pluralis maiestaticus aufzufassen sein. Beachtenswert ist nun, dass die modernen Sprachen des kaukasischen Nordwestflügels, das Abchasische, das Tscherkessische und das Tschetschenische, für "ich" Bildungen aufweisen wie *sa-ra*; *se-r'e*, *se*, *sse*; *suo*, *so*. Anscheinend hat sich in ihnen die gleiche Entwicklung vollzogen wie im Mitanischen.

Dass übrigens auch das Pronomen "du" des Mitanischen seine nächsten Verwandten im Abchasischen und Tscherkessischen hat, steht auf S. 71 meiner "Mitanni-Sprache".

Aus dem Voranstehenden wird der Leser ersehen, dass das Mitani in der Formung des sprachlichen Ausdruckes freier ist als beispielsweise eine arische oder semitische Sprache, deren Formen fest geworden sind. Die sich daraus ergebenden Schwierigkeiten der Entzifferung können nun derartig grosse sein, dass das Urteil über die Einzellerscheinung schwanken muss, bis jemand in einer glücklichen Stunde den Punkt findet, wo der Hebel mit Erfolge angesetzt werden kann. Das wird dankbar anerkannt. Wenn aber Skoeld mir auf Grund meiner Uebersetzung *enna-šu-š* "meine Götter" vorwirft, ich hätte den ägyptischen Gott Ammon zu einem

Gotte der Mitaniern gemacht, so muss ich diese Bemerkung als oberflächlich und verständnislos zurückweisen. Genau so wie alle Forscher, die sich in Mitani-Brief vertieft haben, habe ich den ägyptischen Gott in seiner älteren Lautgestalt mit langem a in der zweiten Silbe erkannt. Als fremden Namen habe ich ihn in meiner Uebersetzung dadurch heraus gehoben, dass ich ihn *Amán* schrieb, d.h. die Vokallänge angab.

Auf gleicher Stufe steht Skoelds Versuch, die Gleichheit der "Nominativ"-Suffixe -š- und -l(l)- zu bestreiten (S. 676), die doch schon Messerschmidt auf S. 33 seiner Mitani-Studien bewiesen hatte. Damit wird aber Skoelds Hypothese von der Verteilung der Götter auf Aegypten und Mitani der Boden entzogen. Was er darüber sagt, ist entweder längst bekannt, z. B. dass *Šauška-š* die Ištar von Ninawa ist, oder es ist unrichtig. Seine Gleichung Ea-šarri = Osiris scheitert an der lautlichen Unvereinbarkeit der beiden Namen. Ea-šarri ist ein assyrischer Gott (K n u d t z o n, El-Amarna-Tafeln, Bd. II, S. 1057), und Šimike—oder ist Limmike zu lesen?—ist der Gott der Stadt Ihipe, die im Lande Mitani gesucht werden muss. Denn wenn Nimmoria nach Kelijas Berichte (I, 83 ff.)—ich interpretiere jetzt einiges daraus anders, und zwar in engerem Anschlusse an die Ausdrucksweise der assyrischen Briefe Dušrattas—ein "schönes Geschenk" (*taše apli*) "zu der Vätergabe hinzu" (*att-arti-fa-na*) nach Ihipe, "der Stadt des Šimike," sendet, um den unersättlichen Bittsteller abzuspeisen, und wenn Kelija dieses Geschenk in Ihipe abliefert (*amm-oš-a*), so kann Ihipe nicht in Aegypten liegen, wie Skoeld will.

Zu dem Namen Aegypten hat Skoeld übrigens etwas beizusteuern, und zwar unter Hinweis auf Hugo Winckler, leider ohne Angabe der Stelle, nämlich die Gleichung *Mi-zi-ir-ri* = *Ma-aš-ri*. Beide Namen kommen in dieser Gestalt im Mitani-briefe nicht vor. Auch kann ich in meinem Buche ein *Mičiri* nicht finden, das ich nach Skoeld geschrieben haben soll. Skoeld möchte anscheinend die beiden Länder

Mi-ci-ir-re-e und *Ma-a-^{mitu}es-ri-a-(a)-an-ne-e* einander gleich setzen. Ein solches Unterfangen würde man sogar schon einem Keilschriftstudenten im ersten Semester mit Rechte übel nehmen. Skoeld hat aber ausserdem übersehen, dass der Fund von Boghazköi lehrt, dass der zweite Name jetzt *Ma-a-taš-ri-a-(a)-an-ne-e* zu lesen ist. Das einzige, das aus dem fürchterlichen Unfuge bei Skoeld bestehen bleiben kann, ist, dass ^{mitu}*o-o-mi-i-ni* = "Land" ist, aber diese Erkenntnis verdanken wir nicht ihm sondern P. Jensen.

Skoeld macht mir ferner den in der Uebersetzung von III, 108-124 vorgeschlagenen Ländertausch zum Vorwurfe, der nichts zu tun habe "mit den bekannten historischen Tatsachen". Ich glaube, es würde ihm schwer fallen zu sagen, mit welchen. Gerade die Archivfunde von El-Amarna und Boghazköi haben gezeigt, dass eigentlich "alles schon dagewesen ist". 1908 hielt ich eine Grenzberichtigung in Form eines Gebietsaustausches durchaus für möglich, und ich bereue meine damalige Uebersetzung durchaus nicht, da sie den logischen Zusammenhang der Stelle aufgedeckt hat. Damals konnte ich nicht weiter kommen, weil der Sinn dieser Stelle (und auch von I, 8-15, II, 65-85, IV, 125-130), der aus dem Rahmen aller sonstigen Dušratta-Briefe heraus fällt, unbekannt war. Und auch Skoeld hat über den wirklichen Inhalt dieser Stellen nichts zu sagen gewusst, er steht mit leeren Händen da.

Ungefähr 5 Jahre nach der Veröffentlichung meiner Mitani-Studie machte mich G. Hüsing darauf aufmerksam, dass der in I, 11 angeführte dritte Ländername ^{mitu}*Ha-ca-p[a-a]l-o-ok-ko-(a-an)* die mitanische Widergabe des z. B. in der Bagistaninschrift genannten Katpatuk(k)a = Kappadokien sei. Diese geniale Entdeckung beleuchtet blitzartig die historische Lage. Es kann sich nicht mehr um Grenzberichtigungen handeln, sondern um ein Bündnis zwischen Aegypten und Mitani gegen die andrängenden Hättiter. In Frage kommen Abmachungen über die Mobilisation des ägyptischen Syriens und der östlich des

Euftrat anstossenden Gebietsteile von Mitani. Es scheint nun aus dem Briefe hervor zu gehen, dass das *Mur-ro-o-he* oder *Mur-jo-o-he* —so wird wohl zu lesen sein!—Aegypten gehört und wohl eine Verballhornung von Amurru darstellen dürfte, während *Ma-a-taš-ri-a-(a)-an-ne-e* ein Teil von Mitani ist. Die Stelle IV, 127 f. dreht anscheinend das Verhältnis um: "Und den Dušratta lass mobilisieren (?) in Murjohe, und den Immoria lass mobilisieren (?) in Matašrienne!" Dieser Spruch ist in besonders feierlicher Weise, als Orakel des Šimike, dargeboten und will besagen, dass im Falle besonderer Not von Mitani Dušratta berechtigt sein solle, auch die Hilfskräfte des Herrn Schwiegersohnes im ägyptischen Nachbargebiete Amurru zusammen zu raffen. Diesem wiederum müssen, um ihm die Sache schmackhaft zu machen, gleiche Rechte in Matašrienne zugestanden werden. Der Mitani-Brief fällt also in eine Zeit, als der hattiitische Druck nach Südosten zu stärker wird und Dušratta in Folge chronischen Geldmangels diesem Feinde nicht gewachsen ist.

Es ist natürlich unmöglich, die oben angedeuteten Stellen des Mitani-Briefes in einem neuen Uebersetzungsversuche zu geben, da die Aufrollung der von mir weiter geförderten grammatischen Erkenntnisse im Rahmen einer Zeitschrift nicht möglich ist. Ich möchte nur noch die Frage kurz andeutend behandeln, was hinter dem Namen Matašrienne stecken mag.

Gerade in jener Gegend, wo ich Matašrienne suche, und in der Nachbarschaft im Norden, Nordosten und Osten finden sich zahlreiche Namen mit dem Elemente *-ene*, das in alter Zeit **-ane* gelautet haben könnte. Es läge also ein Anlass vor, in unserem Namen *-anne* davon abzutrennen. Das übrig bleibende *Matašri-* bleibt aber noch unverständlich, wenn wir es nicht weiter zerlegen können. Dieses erscheint mir in der Tat möglich. Da ich es aus historischen Gründen in der Nachbarschaft des ägyptischen Syrien suche, so kam ich auf die *Osro-ene*. Ich möchte den Versuch wagen, *Osro-ene* und *Mat-ašri-anne* gleich zu setzen. Das ist aber

nur unter der Voraussetzung wahrscheinlich, dass entweder in Mat-ašri-*anne* das akkadische *mātu* "Land" enthalten ist, oder der anderen, dass eine spätere Zeit, als die Bevölkerung völlig akkadisiert war, den ersten Bestandteil wegliess, da er ja "Land" zu bedeuten schien.

Ich breche hier ab. Ich habe mich bemüht, den fast 12 Druckseiten *Skoelds* auch nur einen Gedanken abzugewinnen, der die Entzifferung des *Mitani* fördern könnte; es war ein vergebliches Bemühen. Es musste aber so ausfallen, weil *Skoeld* nirgends in die Tiefe geht und auch nicht in die Tiefe gehen konnte, weil er zu allem Uebrigen ohne jedes Fachwissen ist. Wie schlimm die Sache ist, mag aus Folgendem hervor gehen: 1. Er verwendet *L. Messerschmidts* "Mitanni-Studien" nicht; in Folge davon macht er mich für Dinge verantwortlich, die *Messerschmidt* gefunden hat. 2. Von *J. A. Knudtzon* verwendet er nur die in Bd. IV der Beiträge zur Assyriologie gegebene Umschrift des *Mitani*-Briefes, nicht aber die in seinen *El-Amarna-Tafeln* (*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, Bd. 2, Berlin, 1915.—Beginn des Erscheinens 1907) gebotenen Berichtigungen und die Anmerkungen *O. Webers* und *Knudtzons* in Bd. II. 3. *O. Schröders* Ausgabe des Textes (*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler d. Kgl. Museen*. Berlin, Heft XII, S. 35–55) hat er nicht verwertet. 4. Vom Wesen der Keilschrift hat er ganz laienhafte Vorstellungen.

Es ist mir völlig unfassbar, dass ein Gelehrter in solcher Weise an die Öffentlichkeit getreten ist, und meine Phantasie lässt mich im Stiche, wenn ich mir die Frage vorlege, zu welchem Zwecke wohl *Skoeld* geschrieben haben mag.

September, 1927.

(*This discussion is now closed.*)

Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. II : The Sa-cu Region

BY F. W. THOMAS

(Continued from 1927, p. 844.)

D. MONASTERIES AND A HISTORIC FOUNDATION

17. Ch. 0021 (670, vol. xxxi, foll. 115; *verso* of fol. 2 of a text in *dbu-can* script; ll. 8 of clear *dbu-med*).

[1] ཨོ || Bod . yul . du . byuñ . bañi . dge . bañi . bśes . ñen .
gi . rgyud . kyī . rnams . grañs . la . ||

[2] Rgya . gar . gyi . mkhan . po . Bo . de . sva . rva . las .
stsogs . pañi . slob . ma . ni | Dbah̄ . btsun . ba . Ye¹ . še(s) .
dbañ . po | Dbah̄ . Dpal . dbyaṅs . | Ñan . lam . Rgyal .
mchog . dbyaṅs . | Hgo . hbom . Rdo . rje . rgyal . po . | Jeñ .
Gsal . rab . rin . po . che . | Myañ . Mchog . rab . gzo . nu . |
Myañ . Gśa (?) . myi . go . cha . | Glehu . Gzo . nu . sñiñ . po . |
Lha . luñ . [3] Dpal . gi . rdo . rje | Tshog . ro . Dpal . gi .
señ . ge . | ² Tsog . ro . Byams . pañi . señ . ge . ² | Cog . ro .
Hchos . kyī . bśes . ñes (n) . | de . las . bsogs . pa . ni . Bsam .
yas . dañ . Hphrul . snañ . yan . cad . kyī . dge . bañi . bśes .
ñen . lags . sho . ||

Mdo . gams . gyi . chos . grañi . slob . dpoñ . |

[4] Wañ . Śes . rab . sla . ba . | Hdan . ma . Bkun . dgah̄ .
dpal . | Nem . Dgah̄ . ldan . byañ . chub . las . bsog³ . pa . ni .
Mdo . gams . nas . brgyud . pa . lags . so . ||

Kam . beuñi . chos . grañi . slob . pon . | Dbas . Byañ .
chub . rin . cen . | 'An . Dge . lam . | Lañ . hgro . Dam .
mtsho . || Lbe (Hbe ? Lce ?) . ži . Rnal . hbyor . [5] skyor . |
Hphru . ma . legs . las . bsogs . pa⁴ . ni | byañ . ños . phyogs .
su . brgyud . pa . lags . so . ||

Go⁵ . cuñi . chos . grañi . slob . dpon . Myañ . Rin . cen .

¹ Corrected from *yes*.

² *Tsog* *ge* repeated and then erased.

³ Below the line.

⁴ Below the line.

⁵ Corrected from *Gog*.

byañ . chub . || Ṣa . sñā . Hjam . paḥi . sñiñ . po | Hgo . bom .
 Sa . mun . tra . || Hgreñ . ro . Dgeḥi . blo . gros . | Phuñ . Dge .
 rgyas . las . btsogs . Śi . goñ . bu . nas . [6] brgyud . pa . lags .
 sho . || rdzogs . so . |

[1] "Record of the succession of *kalyāṇa-mitras* who arose in Tibet.

[2-5] I. Pupils of the Indian abbots Bodeśvara and so forth :—

Dbaḥ the reverend Ye-śes . dbaḥ-po (*Jñānendra*) ;

„ Dpal-dbyaṅs (*Śrīghoṣa*) ;

Rgyal-mchog-dbyaṅs (*Ujjayana* (?) *ghoṣa*) of *Nān-lam* ;

Rdo-rje-rgyal-po (*Vajrarāja*) of Hgo-ḥbom ;

Jeñ Gsal-rab-rin-po-che (*Prakāśaratna*) ;

Myañ Mchog-rab-gḥo-nu (*Prāgra*(?)*kumāra*) ;

„ Gśa-myi-go-cha (. . . *varman*) ;

Gleḥu Gḥo . nu . sñiñ-po (*Kumāragarbha*) ;

Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje (*Śrīvajra*) of Lha-luñ ;

Dpal-gyi-señ-ge (*Śrīsimha*) of Cog-ro ;

Byams-paḥi-señ-ge (*Maitrīsimha*) of Cog-ro ;

Hchos-kyi-bśes-gñen (*Dharmamitra*)

—these and others are the *kalyāṇa-mitras* of [the country] as far as the monasteries Bsam-yas and Hphrul-snañ.

[3-4] II. Teachers of the seminary of Mdo-gams :—

Wañ Śes-rab-sla-ba (*Prajñācandra*) ;

Hdan-ma Kun-dgaḥ-dpal (*Ānandaśrī*) ;

Nem Dgaḥ-ldan-byañ-chub (*Tuṣitabodhi*) ;

—these and others are of the succession of Mdo-gams.

[4-5] III. Teachers of the seminary of Kam-bcu :—

Dbas Byañ-chub-rin-chen (*Bodhiratna*) ;

'An Dge-lam (*Supatha*, *Kṣemamārga* ?) ;

Dam-mtsho of Lañ-ḥgro ;

Lbe-zi Rnal-ḥbyor-skyor (*Yogastambha* ?) ;

Hphru-ma-legs ;

—these and others are the succession in the region of the north.

[5-6] IV. Teachers of the Go-cu seminary :—
 Myañ Rin-cen-byañ-chub (Ratnabodhi) ;
 Za-sña Hjam-paḥi-sñiñ-po (Mañjugarbha) ;
 Sa-mun-tra (Samudra) of Hgo-hbom ;
 Dgaḥi-blo-gros (Sumati) of Hgreñ-ro ;
 Phuñ Dge-rgyas (Punyavistara) ;
 —these and others are the succession of Śi-goñ-bu. *Finis.*”

Notes.

l. 2. *Dbah* (l. 6 *dbas*) : see p. 56.

Nan-lam, a place mentioned in the Lhasa treaties (*JRAS.*, 1910, p. 1277, l. 22, p. 1281, l. 47), where Col. Waddell reads *Tshe-nan(-lam)* which he takes as referring to Singanfu ; cf. also the *Chronicle*, l. 84, *Nan-lam-tsal*.

Hgo-bom (l. 5 *Hgo-hbom*) has been mentioned above (p. 823), and the second element occurs in *Khri-boms*. The name of *Kum-bum*, which might here occur to us, is usually explained as *Sku-hbum*.

ll. 2-3. *Lha-luñ* and *Cog(Tsog)-ro* are known, and the Bsam-yas and Hphrul-snañ monasteries are the famous early foundations; the latter at Lha-sa.

l. 3. *gra* = *grva*, see p. 843.

l. 4. *Kam .bcu* = Kan-chou.

Lañ-hgro is mentioned in the *Chronicle* (ll. 176, 206, 237).

l. 5. *Go-cu* is not known to me.

Hgreñ . ro is, no doubt, the territory of the Hgreñ clan of Mdo-gams (p. 87). It is mentioned in M.I., viii, 13, 48, xiv, 113.

Za . sña is ordinarily a phrase meaning presence.

Śi-goñ-bu has not yet been found in the documents.

Concerning the surnames (*Myañ*, *Hdan-ma*, etc.) see the consolidated list, pp. 91-5.

18. Ch. 73, viii, 5 (705 : vol. lxix, foll. 45-6, and vol. liii, fol. 11 ; 30 × 25 + 30 × 53 + 30 × 25 cm. ; discoloured and fragmentary ; ll. 15 + 31 + 15 of excellent *dbu-can* script ; paragraphs separated by |'s and ॐ in red).

This document consists of a series of paragraphs having the form :—

¹ Bam . Stag . zigs . gyi . khram . tshan la ¹ || Dgaḥ . ldan . ḥbyuñ . gnas . gyi . gtsug . lag . khañ . gyi . yon . bdag . Bam . Stag . gi . skya . | Dgaḥ . ldan . gnas . gyi . gḥal . yas . paḥi . gtsug . lag . khañ . gyi . yon . bdag . Leñ . ho . Siḥu . lañ . gyi . skya .

“*Account of Bam Stag-zigs.* Crop of Bam Stag, patron of the Dgaḥ-ldan-ḥbyuñ-gnas monastery. Crop of Leñ-ho Siḥu-lañ, patron of the Dgaḥ-ldan-gnas-kyi-gḥal-yas monastery.”

The document again is therefore simply a systematically arranged list of monasteries receiving as income the crops of certain farms, with the names of the owners or occupants of the farms, who are styled *yon-bdag* (*dāna-pati* “donors” or “patrons”). Though we have only a fragment, the number of establishments, many of which may have been small, is sufficient to remind us of the fact that Śa-cu was the place of the “Thousand Buddhas”; and the system, though perhaps the produce only, and not also the ownership of the estates, belonged to the monasteries, is agreeably analogous to the holdings of the Tibetan Buddhist church and of the endowments of religion and learning in mediaeval Europe.

The names of the religious establishments, which are grouped under the several accounts according to their initial syllables, may conveniently be reproduced in the same manner :—

[ll. 1–5] (*Title of account missing.*)

| | |
|---------------------|-------------|
| Dri-myed . . . | monastery ; |
| „ ya-rnam-dag | „ |
| „ -dños . grub | „ |
| „ -tin . ñe . ḥdzin | „ |
| „ -rgyas . pa | „ |
| „ -don . dam | „ |

¹ This part in red ink.

[ll. 6-12] *Account (tshan) of Klu-sbehi-bsgye-hu-rje-gye-se*
Hpyan-legs :—

Khram account (khram-tshan) of Cañ Lha-legs :—

[Rnam]-dag-dgaḥ-ldan monastery ;

Rnam-dgaḥ-bo

„

Rnam-dag-yon-tan

„

„ -pad-mo

„

„ -don-grub

„

„ -rin-chen

„

„ -don-mdzad

„

„ -snañ-mdzad

„

„ byams-pa

„

„ mthaḥ-yas

„

[ll. 13-B l. 6] *Khram account of Bam Stag-zigs* :—

Dgaḥ-ldan-hbyuñ-gnas monastery ;

„ -gnas-kyi-gḥal-nas

„

„ -pad-mo

„

„ -sprul-pa

„

„ -myi-g-yoḥ

„

„ -mthaḥ-yas

„

„ -rgyal-ba

„

„ -dri-myed

„

„ -byams-pa

„

„ -rdo-rje

„

[B ll. 6-12]. *Khram account of Cañ Si-ka* :—

Rin-chen-hod-hphro monastery ;

„ -hbar-ba

„

„ -rnal-hbyor

„

„ -bla-myed

„

„ -bsam-yas

„

„ -dus-gsum

„

„ -don-dam

„

„ -dkaḥ-thub

„

„ -hod-khyab

„

„ -chos-grags

„

[B ll. 13-20]. *Khram account of Li Shu-lan* :—

Chos-grags-bsam-yas monastery ;

| | | |
|---|--------------|---|
| „ | -bkra-śis | „ |
| „ | -g-yuñ-hdruñ | „ |
| „ | -dgah-ldan | „ |
| „ | -gzi-brjid | „ |
| „ | -rgyas-pa | „ |
| „ | -don-mdzad | „ |
| „ | -myi-g-yo | „ |
| „ | -legs-ldan | „ |

[B l. 20-7]. *Khram account of Leñ-ho Zun-zun* :—

G-yuñ-hdruñ-yañ-dag monastery ;

| | | |
|---|--------------|---|
| „ | -dam-pa | „ |
| „ | -don-dam | „ |
| „ | -rdzu-hphrul | „ |
| „ | mñam-ñid | „ |
| „ | -byams-pa | „ |
| „ | -bla-myed | „ |
| „ | -dge-rtags | „ |
| „ | -yid-bžin | „ |

[B ll. 27-31]. *Khram account of Wañ Stagu* :—

Don-dam-rnal-hbyor monastery ;

| | | |
|---|--------------|---|
| „ | -bla-myed | „ |
| „ | -byams-pa | „ |
| „ | -rdzu-hphrul | „ |
| „ | -mñam-ñid | „ |
| „ | -myi-g-yoñ | „ |

[C ll. 1-2]. (Title of account missing).

Dbañ-mchog-rnal-hbyor monastery ;

[C ll. 2-9]. *Khram account of Cañ Ka-dzo* :—

Bsam-yas-dus-gsum monastery ;

| | | |
|---|-------------|---|
| „ | -myi-g-yoñ | „ |
| „ | -rnal-hbyor | „ |
| „ | -rin-chen | „ |
| „ | -btañ-sñoms | „ |

Bsam-yas-mchog monastery ;

„ -yon-tan „

[C II. 9-15]. *Khram account of Cañ Hphan-legs* :—

Khams-gsum-grags-pa monastery ;

„ -bla-myed „

„ -rgyal-ba „

„ -mchog „

„ -ñi-ba „

„ hph „

„ don-mdzad „

„ g-yuñ-druñ „

The names of these monasteries exhibit, as will be seen, a certain sameness. They consist for the most part of combinations of well-known Buddhist or Indian phrases, such as *dri-med* (= *amala*, *nirmala*), *rnam-dag* (= *viśuddha*), *dgahldan* (= *tuṣṭa*), *rin-chen* (= *ratna*), *chos-grags* (= *dharmakīrti*), *g-yuñ-hdruñ* (= *svasti*), *don-dam* (= *paramārtha*), *bsam-yas* (= *acintya*), *khams-gsum* (= *triloka*), *bla-med* (= *anuttara*), *byams-pa* (= *Maitreya*), *dños-grub* (= *siddhi*). They are all Tibetan, which, however, may represent Sanskrit or Chinese originals.

It remains to justify the translation of *tshan*, which has occurred already several times (pp. 808, 810, 842), by “account” and to explain the phrase “*khram account*”.

Tshan cannot have the common senses of “class”, “group”, “a number of”, or of “mark”, “name” (*mtshan*), or of “office”. The sense of “account” fits the occurrences. For *khram* (going back to *khra-ma* “register”, etc.?) we may cite *khram-kha* “chart used in witchcraft”, “cross marks cut into a piece of wood”, and *khram-siñ* “board on which the body of a culprit is stretched to flog him on the back”. Remembering the numerous wooden sticks with combinations of lines and frequently with names and amounts, we can hardly hesitate to recognize in the *khram-tshan* these same tallies, such as were frequent in

England down to the seventeenth century.¹ On two of these tallies the words *tshan* and *khram* in fact occur :—

(a) M.I., xxvii, 8 :—

[1] Hphan . cuñ . dog . tshan . gyi . bul . . .

[2] To . tson . gis . phul . bañ . . .

(b) M.I., xiv, 131 a :—

[1] ra 3 | dre . dbu | ra . ma

[2] o | kog . chas . hlug . khram |

[3] lug ma . mo.

19. Ch. 9, I. 37 (722, vol. xxxii, foll. 88-96 ; 42.5 × 7.5 cm ; fol. 9, numbered 35-41 ; followed by No. 74, another text ; ll. 4 per page of good ordinary *dbu-can* script ; paragraph titles in red ink).

88 (35) [1] ཨ། : | thañ . du . gtsigs . kyi . gtsug . lag .
khañ . bzeñs . par . Mdo . gams . kyi . khams . kyi . dbañ . po .
rnam . kyis . dkon . mcog . gsum . la . meod . ciñ . yon .
phul . ba . hdiñi . bsod . nams . dañ | byin . gyi . rlabs . kyis
[l. 2] lha . btsan . po . rje . blon . hkhor . dañ . bcas . pañi .
sdig . pa . thams . cad . ni . byañ | bsod . nams . dañ . ye . śes .
kyi . tshogs . ni . yonsu . rdzogs . nas . chab . srid . mjal . dum .
g-yuñ . druñ . tu . brtan . sku . tse . riñ . žiñ . lha . dañ . myiñi .
bde . skyid [l. 3] phun . sum . tshogs . pa . la . gnas . te | bla .
na . myed . pa . yañ . dag . par . rdzogs . pañi . byañ . cub . lhun .
gyis . grub . par . smon . to | ཨ། | ² De . ga . gtsigs .
kyi . gtsug . lag . khañ . žal . bsro . bañi [l. 4] bde . blon . gyi . smon
lam . du . gsol . bañ ² || phyogs . bcu . mthañ . yas . mu .
myed . pa . na . skye . ba . dañ | hgog . pa . las . rnam . par .
dben . ba . yod . myed . dañ . rtag . chad . kyi . mthañ . las .
hdas . pa . dus . gsum . gyi . de . bžin . gśegs . pa (B l. 1) thams .
cad . la . meod . ciñ . bstod . nas . skyabsu . mciste | gus . par .
phyag . htsal . lo | hjig . rten . dañ . hjig . rten . las . hdas . pa .
na . hphags . pa . thams . cad . mkhyind ³ . pañi . ye . śes . dañ .

¹ In the business, for instance, of the East India Company, as may be seen from the specimens exhibited in the India Office Library.

² Red ink in original.

³ For *mkhyend*.

ldan . pa . ḥgag . la . ci . sñed . bžugs . so . cog [B. l. 2] dan |
 chos . dan | sañs . rgyas . dan | dge . ḥidun . la . skyabsu . mci .
 ste | gus . par . phyag . ḥtshal . lo || Ḥo . lde . spu . rgyal .
 gnam . gyi . lha . las . myiḥi . rjer . gśegs . pa . yoñ . gis . sku .
 bla . gžan || chab . srid . che | chos . bzañ | gtsug [B. l. 3]
 lag . che . bas . yul . byuñ . sa . dod . tshun . cad . rjeḥi . gtuñ .
 ma . gyurd . te | chab . srid . g-yuñ . druñ . tu . brtan . žiñ . che .
 baḥi . bkaḥ . drin . chen . pos . phyogs . brgyad . tu . khyab .
 par . khebeste | phyi . nañ . gñis . kyi . Ḥgrin¹ . myi . ḥo . chog .
 la [B. l. 4] mñam . bar . dgoñs . nas . mtho . žiñ . dregs . pa .
 ni . brlabs . dan . thabs . kyis . btul . te . rigs . paḥi . chos . la
 btsud . | dmaḥ . žiñ . rgrad . pa . ni . ḥphral . yun . gñisu .
 dgaḥ . žiñ . spro . bar . gziñs . bstod . nas . gnam . mthaḥ . ḥog .

89 (36) [A. l. 1] ༩ | | gi . Ḥgren . myiḥo . chog . | yun .
 gyi . bkaḥ . drin . gyis . khyab . pas | gnam . chen . po . phyogs .
 bžiḥi . mñah . bdag || ḥphrul . gyi . lugs . dan . ḥthun . pa .
 ni | Bod . kyi . lha . btsan . po | ḥphrul . gyi . ža . sñā . nas .
 bžugs . te || yoñ . yañ | chu . bo . chen . poḥi . [A. l. 2]
 glad | gañs . ri . mthon . poḥi . rtsa | yul . mtho . sa . gtsañ .
 baḥi . gnas . na . bžugs . pas | ḥphrul . gyi . lha . btshan . po .
 ni || gduñ . rabs . ḥgrañs . par . yañ | lhaḥi . lugs . ma .²
 mñam . ste | rgyal . po . gžan . bas | che . žiñ . brtsan . bar
 [A. l. 3] mñon | — | de . ltar . yab . myes . lha . dan . stañ .
 bas | | yoñ . yañ | chab . srid . che | dbu . rmog . brtsan .
 baḥi . steñ . du || ḥphrul . gyi . lha . btshan . po . Khri .
 Gtsug . lde . brtsan . gyi . ža . sñā . nas | sku . la . dbyig
 [A. l. 4] ḥkhruñs | thugs . la . ḥphrul . mñah . ste | gtsug . lag .
 khañ . thams . chad . tshul . bžin . mdzad . pas . ni | sku . bla .
 riñ . rdzi . dan | gnam . saḥi . lha . klu | thams . chad . kyañ .
 ḥgo . žiñ . dgyes || thugs . rje . chen . po . dan . ldan . bas .
 ni . Ḥgren . myi . [B. l. 1] ḥo . chog . la | gnam . saḥi . lugs .
 dan . ḥthun . bar | bkab . ciñ . bkur . te | chab . srid . gyi .
 mñah . thañ . chen . po . dard . ciñ . rgyas . paḥi . dus . su . |
 chab . srid . kyi . blon . po . yañ . ḥphags . pa . dag . chig |

¹ Sic for *Ḥgren*.

² Below line, inserted. For *dan* ?

mñah . thañ . tu . byuñste || blon . chen . po [B l. 2] žañ .
 Khri . sum . rje . dañ | 'chen . po . žañ . Lha . bzañ . po . gñis .
 kyis | dgrah . sed . smad . de | chab . srid . kyī . phañ .
 bsod . nas . || Rgya . Drug . Hjañ . las . stsogs . pa .
 mthañ . rgyal . po . || bar . du . chab . srid . la . sdo . žiñ .
 rtsol | ba . [B l. 3] kun . kyañ | bkañ . nan . gyi . mthu .
 dañ | rlabs . kyis | bthul . bas . ni . re . thag . bcad | yun .
 riñ . por . legs . śiñ . bde . bañi . bkañ . drin . gyis . ni . dad . pa .
 dañ . spro . ba . bskyed . nas | gnam . sa . yid . hbyor . pa .
 dañ . hdra . bar | rgyal [B l. 4] khams . tu . ma . žig . gis ||
 Bod . rje . blon . gyi . bkañ . gus . par . mñan . te | chab . srid .
 mjal . dum . chen . po . mdzad . pa . hdi . yañ | hphral . yun .
 gñis . su . legs . śiñ . bde . ba . ñi . tser . ma . baste | gžah .
 gsañ . gñis . 90 (37) [A l. 1] ☉ || su . chab . srid . kyī . phañ .
 mtho . ba . dañ . smos . śiñ . brjod . pañi . don . kyañ . rab . tu .
 zab | lo . stoñ . rabs . khrir . yañ . hbri . ba . myed . par . bzañ .
 žiñ . sñan . te . mjal . dum . gyi . legs . pa . chen . po . mñon .
 sum . tu . mdzad [A l. 2] pa . hdi . dkon . mchog . gsum .
 dañ | hjig . rten . gyi . lha . klu . thams . cad . kyis .
 kyañ . mkhyend . ciñ . gzigs . pas . na | nam . tu . yañ . myi .
 hgyur . žiñ . brtan . bar . smond . to || de . ltar . mjal .
 dum . chen . po [A l. 3] mdzad . pañi . rkyen . kyis . rgyal .
 khams . tu . ma . žig . gi . hbañs . mchon . chañi . khar . ñon .
 moñs . pa . myiñ . myed . par . bstald . te | bde . skyid . pañi .
 gnas . la . dus . gcig . tu . bkod . pañi . bsod . nams [A l. 4]
 chen . po . hdis | hphrul . gyi . lha . btsan . po . Khri . Gtsug .
 lde . brtsan . mched . dañ | chab . srid . kyī . blon . po . chen .
 po . legs . pa . sgrub . sgrub . pa . blon . chen . po . žañ . Khri .
 sum . rje . dañ | žañ . chen . po . Lha [B l. 1] bzañ . lastsogs .
 pa . Bod . rje . blon . hkhord . par . bcas . pa . dañ | sems .
 can . thams . cad . sgrib . pa . rnam . gñis . byañ . nas . bsod .
 nams . dañ . ye . śes . kyī . tshogs . yoñsu . rdzogste . mthar .
 yañ . bla . na . myed . pa . yañ . dag [B l. 2] par . rdzogs .
 pañi . byañ . cub . tu . mñon . bar . rdzogs . par . sañs . rgyas .
 par . smon . to || de . ga . G-yu . tshal . mjal . tum . thañ .
 tu . gtsigs . kyī . gtsug . lag . khañ . mdzad . pa . hdi . yañ .

lo . ño . gñis [B l. 3] la . rgyal . khams . chen . po . gsum .
 mjal . dum . ba . dañ . gtsigs . chen . po . mdzad . pañi . sa .
 gzi . ste | hdir . bcas . pa . dañ . sbyar . na ¹ | hdi . yañ . sñon .
 gyi . hphags . pa . rnames . kyis . yañ [B l. 4] dag . par . byin .
 kyis . brlabs . pañi . sa . gzi . žig . ste | yon . yañ . hdi . lta .
 buñi . legs . pa . chen . po . dus . gcig . tu . byuñ . bañi . don .
 tu . btsigs . pas . lhag . par . yañ . bsod . nams . che . žiñ . bkra .
 śis . par . mñon . te | 91 (38) [A. l. 1] || bsod . nams . chen . po .
 de . dag . gi . byin . kyis . gtsuñ . lag . khañ . hdi . yañ . nam . ñi .
 ma . dañ | zla . ba . yod . kyī . bar . tu . yun . tu . brtan . ba .
 dañ | hphrul . kyī . lha . btsan . po . Khri . Gtsug . lde . brtsan .
 gyi . ža . sña . nas | sku . tshe . riñ . žiñ [A l. 2] chab . srid .
 che . ba . dañ | dgoñs . pa . yid . bžin . tu . grub . par . smon .
 to || sñon . Rgya . Drug . dañ ² . chab . srid . la . ma .
 mjal . te . nold . pa . dag . gi . dus . na . lha . sras . dbu .
 rmog . brtsan . po . dañ | blon . po . dpañ . hđzañs [A l. 3]
 ldan . žiñ . dgra . thabs . mkhas . pañi . skyims ³ . kyis . dgra .
 la . phog . pa . dañ | dmag . mañ . poñi . mthu . brtsan . pos .
 dgrañi . mkhar . phab . pa . dañ | g-yu . bzlog . pa . dañ |
 yul . bcom . ba . dañ | mñañs . bcad . pa . la [A l. 4] stsogste |
 dgrañi . myi . phyugs . mañ . pho . srog . dañ . bral . ba . dañ .
 ma . byind . par . blañs . phañi . dño . sdig . ci . mcis . pa . yañ .
 bsod . nams . chen . po . hdiñi . byin . dañ . zil . kyis . mnand .
 te . žu . žiñ . byañ . bar . smon [B l. 1] to || dkon . mchog .
 gsum . la . mcod . ciñ . yon . phul . ba . dañ | dño . sdig . bsags .
 pa . lastsogs . pañi . bsod . nams . kyis . rjesu . bsño . žiñ .
 dmyigs . pa . dañ | bzod . pa . dañ . hthol . tsañsu [B. l. 2]
 gsol . ba . lastsogs . pa . smon . lam . gžan . yañ | bla . nas .
 mdzad . pa . dañ . mthun . bar . smond . to || ⁴ De . ga .
G-yu . tshal . gtsigs . kyī . gtsug . lag . khañ . du . Mkhar . tsan
 [B l. 3] *khrom . chen . pos . smon . lam . tu . gsol . ba* ⁴ . ||
 Bod . rje . blon . dbu . rmog . brtsan . Sgam . dkyel . chen . poñi .

¹ s here erased.Read *Hjañ* ?³ For *skyems*.⁴ Red ink in original.

sku . ril . la | bar . tu . Rgya . Drug . dañ . Hjañ . rgyal .
 khams . chen . po . gsum . gyis . chab . srid . kyī . mdab .
 tu [B l. 4] bños . pa . las | rje . dbu . rmog . brtsan .
 blon . po . rin . po . che . dpaḥ . rtsal . dañ . ldan . bañi .
 byin . rlabs . kyis . dgra . bkañ . hog . du . chud . du |
 gtsigs . bkañ . rtsald . to . ḥtsald . tu . mnos . la | nam . za .
 92 (39) [A l. 1] ཨ། : | myi . rabs . kyī . gtam . brjod .
 kyī . bar . tu . legs . pañi . bkañ . drin . dgugs . kyis . zin . to .
 ḥtsal . la . khebs . te . brjod . pañi . gtsigs . kyī . gtsug . lag .
 khañ . bñens . par . rgyal . khams . chab . srid . kye¹ . la
 [A l. 2] ltod . pañi . slad . tu . lha . sras . Khri . Gtsug . lde .
 brtsan . gyi . za . sna . nas . thugs . kyī . phrin . las . su . mdzad .
 pa . dañ | blon . chen . po . zañ . Khri . sum . rje . dañ | chen .
 po . zañ . Lha . bzañ . gis . dgra . Rgya . Drug . gi . g-yul .
 [A l. 3] chen . po . bzlog . pa . lastsogs . pa . thabs . ches . phras .
 dgra . la . gnad . par . bgyis . pa . dañ | kh[r]om . Mkhar .
 tsan . pa . lta . žig . Bod . ḥbañs . dpaḥ . sran . la . stend . pañi .
 tshul . bžin . du [A l. 4] lo . no . geig . la . g-yul . chen . po .
 gñis . bzlog . pañi . dpaḥ . bañi . sna . drañs . pa . lastsogs . ste |
 Bod . rjes . ḥbañs . kyis . chab . srid . la . sdo . bañi . slad . tu .
 dbugs . chags . la . gnad . pañi . sems [B l. 1] kyis . mphro .
 btod . ciñ . rma . phyuñ . no . ḥtsal | rtul . tsam . ma . lus . phar .
 byañ . bar . smon . lam . gsolte | Khar . tsan . khrom . kyis .
 yon . dbul . ba . la | ཨ། || ² De . ga . G-yu . tshal . gtsigs .
 kyī . gtsug . lag . khañ . tu . Kva . cu . khrom . chen [B l. 2] po .
 nas . smon . lam . tu . gsol . ba² || Bod . rje . blon . dbu .
 rmog . brtsan . | Skam . dkyel . chen . poñi . sku . riñ . la |
 bar . du . dgra . Rgya . Drug . Hjañ . rgyal . khams . chen . po .
 gsum . kyis . chab . srid . kyī . mdab . tu . bsdos . pha . las
 [B l. 3] rje . dbu . rmog . brtsan | blon . po . rin . po . che .
 dpaḥ . rtsal . ldan . bañi . rlabs . kyis . dgra . bkā . hog . tu .
 chud . de . | gtsigs . bkañ . stsald . to . ḥtsal . tu . mnos . pha .
 nam . za . myi . rabs . su . gtam . brjod . kyī . bar . tu [B l. 4]
 legs . pañi . bkañ . drin . dbugs . kyī . zin . to . ḥtsal . khebs . te |

¹ Read *kyi*, as below (B l. 4).² Red ink in original.

brjod . paḥi . gtsigs . kyī . gtsug . lag . khañ . bžeñs . par . rgyal .
 khams . chab . srid . kyī . la . ltod . paḥi . slad . tu | lha . sras .
 kyī . ʒa . śna . nas . | thugs . kyī .

93 (40) [A l. 1] ཨྲྀ || ḥphrin . las . su . mdzad . pa .
 dañ | blon . chen . po . ʒañ . Khri . sum . rje . dañ | chen . po .
 ʒañ . Lha . bzañ . gis . Rgya . Drug . gi . g-yul . chen . po . bzlog .
 pa . lastsogs . pha . Bod . rjes . ḥbañs . kyis . chab . srid . la .
 sdo . baḥi . slad . [A l. 2] tu . dgra . la . gnad . paḥi . śugs .
 kyis . bgyis . so . ḥtsal . bag . tsam . ma . lus . par . byañ . bar .
 smon . lam . tu . gsol . te || Kva . cu . khrom . chen . po .
 nas . yon . tu . dbul . baḥ || ཨྲྀ || ¹ *Phyug . tsams* . [A l. 3]
stoñ . pon . dpon . g-yog . gi . smon . lam . tu . gsol . baḥ || ¹
 dkon . mchog . gsum . la . phyag . ḥtsal . lo || sañs . rgyas . la .
 phyag . ḥtsal . te . thams . cad . mkhyen . pa . laḥo || [A l. 4]
 chos . la . phag . ḥtsal . te | theg . pa . bla . na . myed . pa .
 laḥo || dge . ḥdun . la . phyag . ḥtsal . te | phyir . myi . log .
 paḥi . byañ . cub . sems . dpah . rnams . laḥo || bdag . dañ .
 gʒan . kyī . non . sgrub . paḥi . phyir . dkon . mchog . gsum .
 la . mchod . de | sdig . pa . thams [B l. 1] cad . btsald . nas |
 bsod . nams . kyī . rjes . su . yi . rañ . ste | dkon . mchog .
 gsum . la . phyogs . śiñ . rton . to || Thugs . skam . dbu . rmog .
 brtsan . baḥi . rje . blon . thugs . la . ḥphrul . dgoñs . phas .
 Rgya . Drug . Ḥjañ . las . stsogs . pha [B l. 2] bar . tu . bkaḥ .
 myi . mñand . pa . yañ . ḥbañs . gñug . ma . dañ . ḥdra . bar .
 rnal . tu . phab . nas . dbu . rmog . brtsan . la . chab . srid . che .
 baḥi . ḥdab . la . phyogs . par . gsol . nas | mjal . dum . gyi .
 gtsigs . beas . nas . [B l. 3] rdo . riñs . la . bris | gtsigs . kyī .
 gtsug . lag . khañ . bžeñs . nas . so . khams . kyī . khrom .
 ni . dal . | yul . chen . poḥi . dbus . skyid . ciñ . dar . bar .
 bgyis . ḥdi . las . bkaḥ . drin . che . ba . ma . meis . pas . sri .
 ʒu . dañ . bkaḥ [B l. 4] drin . dran² . baḥi . mtsan . ma .
 tsam . du . dkon . mchog . gsum . la . yon . baḥi . bsod . nams .
 kyis | Bod . rje . blon . ḥkhor . dañ . beas . pha . sku . tshe .

¹ Red ink in original.

² Below line.

dan̄ . mñah̄ . thañ . g-yuñ . druñ . du . grub . la . Bod . kham̄s .
 na . phas̄ . kyi . dgra . dan̄ . h̄khruḡ . pañi . myi . gragste |
 94 (41) [A l. 1] ཨ || lo . phyugs̄ . rtaḡ . legs̄ . la .
 gtsigs̄ . bcas̄ . pa . bžin̄ . yun̄ . du . brtan̄ . žiñ . h̄jiḡ . rten̄ . dan̄ .
 h̄jiḡ . rten̄ . las̄ . h̄das̄ . pañi . bde . skyid̄ . phun̄ . sum̄ . tshogs̄ .
 pha . dan̄ . ldan̄ . bar . smon̄ . to || [A. l. 2] ཨ || ¹ Hbrom̄ .
 khoñ ² . sa . hī . smon̄ . lam̄ . du . gsol̄ . bañ ¹ || rje . bla . na .
 bžugs̄ . pa . ni . lha | chab̄ . srid̄ . kyi . blon̄ . po . ni . h̄phruld̄ |
 rje . blon̄ . lha . h̄phrul̄ . kyis̄ . gnam̄ . ral̄ . ba . ni . lhañī . byin̄ .
 kyis̄ . drubs̄ . | sa . gas̄ . pa . ni . blon̄ . poñī . rlabs̄ . kyis̄ .
 btsams̄ ³ . te | gnam̄ . sa . ni . yod̄ . sbyar̄ | dgra . [A l. 3]
 zin̄ . ni . mjal̄ . dum̄ . nas̄ | mthā . nas̄ . ni . dgra . myī . sdo |
 byañ̄ . nas̄ . ni . g-yaḡ . myī . rtuñ̄ . ste || Bod . h̄bañs̄ . yoñs̄ .
 bde . skyid̄ . pa . h̄bañ̄ . śiḡ . tu . ma . bas̄ . te | ñī . hoḡ . gī .
 rgya ⁴ . kham̄sna [A l. 4] rgyal̄ . phran̄ . mcis̄ . pañī . rnams̄ .
 sems̄ . myī . bde . žiñ̄ . srid̄ . śor̄ . h̄idu . dogs̄ . pañī . rnams̄ .
 kyañ̄ . srid̄ . la . myī . dbab̄ . ciñ̄ . sems̄ . bde . ba . yañ̄ . | rje .
 blon̄ . lha . h̄phruld̄ . kyi . sku . yon̄ . | h̄dī . h̄dra . bar . bkañ̄ .
 drin̄ . chen̄ . po . stsalnas̄ . [B l. 1] Bod . h̄bañs̄ . yoñs̄ . sū .
 bde . bañī . dus̄ . ni . ñī . ma . bžin̄ . tu . śard̄ . | ⁵ men̄ . toḡ .
 bžin̄ . tu . rgyas̄ . nas̄ . yul̄ . Bkra . śis̄ . dbyar̄ . mo . thañ̄ .
 de . ga . G-yul̄ . tsal̄ . tu . | blon̄ . chen̄ . po . žañ̄ . Khri . sum̄ .
 rje . dan̄ . | žañ̄ . chen̄ . po . Lha . bzañ̄ . dan̄ . | bkañ̄ [B l. 2]
 h̄khor̄ . dan̄ . bdaḡ . caḡ . las̄ . stsogs̄ . phas̄ . gtsuḡ . laḡ . khañ̄ .
 brtsigs̄ . dge . h̄dun̄ . gyī . sde . gtsugs̄ . rkyen̄ . dan̄ . bcas̄ .
⁶ par̄ . sbyar̄ . ba ⁶ . pañī . yon̄ . kyis̄ . | rje . lha . sras̄ . Khrī .
 Gtsuḡ . lde . brtsan̄ . gyī . sku . tshē . riñ̄ | dbu . rmoḡ . brtsan̄ .
 dan̄ | [B l. 3] blon̄ . chen̄ . po . žañ̄ . Khrī . sum̄ . rje . dan̄ |
 žañ̄ . chen̄ . po . Lha . bzañ̄ . dgoñs̄ . so . h̄tsal̄ . mthar̄ . phyin̄ .
 pa . dan̄ | Bod̄ . rje . blon̄ . kyī . gtsuḡ . laḡ . ñī . ma . dan̄ .
 h̄dra . bar̄ . nam̄ . žar̄ . myī . h̄gyur̄ . dan̄ | gcigs̄ . brtan̄ . [B l. 4]

¹ Red ink.² Inserted below line.³ m inserted below line.⁴ Inserted below line.⁵ *mye* here erased.⁶ Inserted below line.

bah . dan | ¹ bdag . cag . las . stsogs ¹ . sems . can . thams .
 cad . tshe . rabs . kyī , sgrib . pa . byañ . ste | bla . na . myed .
 paḥi . lhaḥi . yañ . lha . sañs . rgyas . bcom . ldan . ḥdas .
 Byams . paḥi . ḥkhor . tu . skye . bar . smon . to ||

[88a, l. 1] "In founding the monastery erected in Bkra-
 śis-dbyar-mo-thañ the authorities of the realm of Mdo-gams
 pray that through the merit and blessing of this donation
 made in honour of the Three Jewels all the sins of His
 Majesty, the Btsan-po, together with his retinue of lords
 councillors, may have been cleansed, and that, their merits
 and wisdom being perfected, the state being established in
 a circle of concord, in the enjoyment of long life and of entire
 felicity on the part of gods and men, they may realize the
 attainment of supreme, perfect illumination.

[88a, l. 3] PRAYER OFFERED BY THE NOBLE COUNCILLORS
 AT THE FACE-WARMING OF THE THERE ERECTED MONASTERY.

To all the Tathāgatas living in the Ten Directions, infinite
 and limitless, and those, entirely free from restriction,
 possessing a non-existence and eternity without bounds,
 with honour and laud seeking refuge in them, in reverence
 hail !

To the Exalted in the universe and in the beyond, possessed
 of omniscient wisdom, as many as abide in their state, to
 the Dharma, the Buddha and the Saṃgha, seeking refuge
 with them, in reverence hail !

From the time when Ḥo-lde Spu-rgyal came from the gods
 of heaven to be lord of men, and ever in other exalted bodies
 —with great dominion, good religion, and great science, a
 royal lineage unbroken as far as the origin of the land where
 the kingdom arose—with the kind sway of a sovereignty
 firm on all sides and great filled and encompassed the Eight
 Regions ; to us Ḥgreñ people, without and within, equally
 considerate ; by their influence and measures taming the high
 and proud and bringing them under the rule of right ; with

¹ Erased.

joy and encouragement in both present and future extolling the humble and afflicted ; filling us Hgreñ people beneath the ends of heaven with perpetual kindness ; rulers of the Four Quarters of the great heaven, equal to the manner of the divine, their Majesties the Btsan-pos of Tibet, of divine descent—

[89a, l. 1] Furthermore, established in his place, the pure land, his high kingdom, above great rivers and at the foot of high snow-mountains, His Divine Majesty, the Btsan-po, in the counting of the generations of his line equal to the manner of the gods, is beyond other kings manifestly great and permanent.

[89a, l. 3] Of ancestry thus rivalling the gods, furthermore also great sovereign and of high helmet, His Divine Majesty, the Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan, in body firm knit, in mind divinely endowed, with due foundation of all monasteries, continues the succession of exalted bodies to the joy [of all], beginning with all the gods of heaven and the Nāgas.

[89a, l. 4] At the time when, through his great compassionateness towards us Hgreñ people, the great authority of his government spread and flourished, protecting us with respect in a manner resembling heaven, there came into power certain exalted councillors of state, the Great Councillor, Uncle Khri-sum-rje, and the Great Uncle Lha-bzañ-po, these two. Humbling the might of enemies and setting them in the bosom of the state, by the power and influence of their commands they tamed all the border kings, of China, the Drug, the Hjañ and others, till then venturing and making effort for dominion, and cut short their hopes. After long time, when righteous and prosperous kindness had engendered trust and encouragement, as though heaven were realized in men's minds, some several states, respectfully heeding the orders of the high councillors of Tibet, made this great concordat of states ; whereby, to say nought of ephemeral good and happiness both in present and future, there is among friend and foe alike reason profound indeed for extolling and

celebrating the bosom of the state. Through myriad millenniums, unspeakably beneficial and welcome, may this great, publicly enacted concordat, known and witnessed by the Three Jewels and by all gods and Nāgas of the universe, stand for all time unimpaired and firm. The subjects of the several kingdoms, by virtue of the thus enacted great concordat, consigning to oblivion their sufferings during the time of arms, and being united at one time in a situation of felicity, through the great merit thereof may His Divine Majesty, the honoured Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan and the great councillors of State, successful in righteous achievement, the Great Councillor, Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great Uncle Lha-bzan and the rest, together with their retinue of High Councillors of Tibet, and all beings, cleansed from the double darkness, and fulfilling their store of merit and wisdom, finally in supreme, perfected enlightenment attain to consummate Buddhahood.

In respect of the choice of this place as site for the foundation of the monastery erected on the there Turquoise-Wood Concordat Plain and for biennial convention of the three great kingdoms and for great foundations, the site being moreover one fully blessed by Āryas of old, may it furthermore, through a foundation in respect of such great good realized at one time, be even more manifestly of great merit and auspiciousness. And through the grandeur of those great merits may this monastery be perpetual in time, as long as sun and moon exist; and on the part of His Divine Majesty, the Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan, may there be long life, great dominion, and purposes accomplished according to his mind.

Whereas formerly, in the time when China and the Drug were not in accord and harmony with the State, the firm-helmeted prince and the wise, heroic councillors, in the ardour of their warlike skill, smote at the foe and by the mighty power of large armies laid low enemy cities, won battles, conquered countries, slew the people and so forth, may the sin of severing

the lives of numerous men and cattle and of taking what was not given be altogether dominated by the splendour and power of this great merit and be dissolved and washed away.

[91b, l. 1] In condevotion with the merit of this donation in honour of the Three Jewels and of the confession of sins and so forth supplication for insight, for tolerance, and for remission of the confessed is made equally with what is above set forth.

[91b, l. 2] PRAYER OFFERED BY THE GREAT CITY OF MKHAR-TSAN AT THE MONASTERY ERECTED IN THE THERE TURQUOISE-WOOD.

Whereas in the lifetime of the High Councillor of Tibet, the firm-helmeted Sgam-dkyel the Great,—for till then the three great kingdoms of China, the Drug, and the Hjan were resolute in contending for dominion,—the firm-helmeted lord designed to issue command that by the heroic might of his jewel councillors the enemy should be made to come beneath his sway, in founding a monastery erected to celebrate, as long as tradition of human generations endures, that that design is willed to be dominated and is covered up by kind summons to righteousness, and in thereby setting a crown upon the state's supremacy, may the purpose in the mind of the prince Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan have been accomplished; and may the harm done to the enemy by Great Councillor Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great Uncle Lha-bzan through great defeats of the hostile Chinese and Drug and other means great and small, and on the part of certain of the city of Mkhar-tsan, who, taking side with the stubborn heroic people of Tibet and being foremost of heroes in winning two great victories in a single year, on behalf of the venture for dominion on the part of the lord and people of Tibet went forward with a will to harm animate creatures, so that wounds were needs inflicted, may those wounds likewise be healed so that not a scar remains!—with this prayer the great city Khar-tsan has made donation.

[92b, l. 1] PRAYER OFFERED FROM THE GREAT CITY OF KVA-CU AT THE MONASTERY ERECTED AT THE THERE TURQUOISE-WOOD.

(*This repeats 91b, l. 2 as far "on behalf of the venture for dominion on the part of the lord and people of Tibet" and then continues*) were willing to proceed with force in harming the enemy, may that without a remainder be healed!—with this prayer the great city of Kva-cu has made donation.

[93a, l. 3] PRAYER OFFERED BY THE COMMANDANT OF THE PHYUG-TSAMS THOUSAND, HIMSELF AND HIS SUBORDINATES.

Hail to the Three Jewels! Hail to the Buddha, to the Omniscient! Hail to the Dharma, to the Path without superior! Hail to the Saṃgha, to the Bodhisattvas who do not regress! Honouring the Three Jewels in order to the success of the efforts of ourselves and others, having dismissed all sins and consenting to what is meritorious, we turn and cleave to the Three Jewels. That by inspired design in the mind of the firm-helmeted High Councillor Thugs-skam the Chinese, the Drug, the Hjañ and others, until then heedless of commands, were set at rest equally with the native people and bidden to seek a shelter both firm-helmeted and great; that a concordat was framed and inscribed upon a stone pillar; that after foundation of the monastery here erected the border cities are at peace and in the interior of the great countries happiness has been made to flourish—forasmuch as there has been no greater kindness than this, in token of reverential and kind commemoration donation has been made to the Three Jewels: through the merit whereof may the lord of Tibet with his retinue of councillors enjoy long life and authority on all sides, and in the Tibetan realm, while foreign enemy and strife are unmentioned and the year's wealth is perpetually assured in accordance with rightful ordinance, may there be mundane and super-mundane happiness and felicity in perfection.

JRAS. JANUARY 1928.

6

PRAYER OFFERED BY THE DISTRICT HBROM-KHOÑ.

The lord stationed on high a god ; the councillors of the state inspired ; the rift of heaven through divinely inspired High Councillors embroidered with divine blessing ; the cloven earth, knitted by the influence of the councillors, a heaven realized ; enemies held fast by concord ; on the frontier no hostile venture ; in the interior¹ the yak not beaten (?)—not enough that thus merely the people of Tibet should be enjoying happiness and felicity : in the realms beneath the sun whatever lesser kings there are, uneasy though they were and apprehensive of loss of state, not being lowered in state are happy. Great kindness such as this having come from the lords councillors, divinely inspired benefactors, a time of universal happiness for the people of Tibet has risen like a sun. Like a flower abloom in the country of the Luck-Summer plain (*Bkra-sis-dbyar-mo-than*), in the there Turquoise-Wood (*G-yu-tshal*), a monastery has been erected by Great Councillor Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great Uncle Lha-bzañ and their subordinates and ourselves and others, and furnished with means for the instalment of a brotherhood ; through which benefaction may the lord prince Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan be of long life and firm helmet, may great Councillor, Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great Uncle Lha-bzañ attain their purposed ends, may the monastery of the lords councillors of Tibet be imperishable, like the sun, and of firm foundation, and may¹ we ourselves and² all creatures, cleansed from the darkness of generations, be born in the courts of the supreme god of gods, the Buddha, the holy Maitreya."

From this remarkable record, which by its elevated magniloquence³ and the no less exalted integrity of its sentiment would have done honour to any religious foundation, we may derive an enlarged conception of what

¹ I read *nan* for *byan* ("north").

² Erased in the original.

³ The rather frequent occurrence of the word "great" is a noticeable feature of similar oratory elsewhere !

was possible to the Tibetan people, and its language, during their period of greatness. While the background is the rigorous intellect of India, we note an accent reminding us that dogmatic systems, when planted among fresh peoples, may be capable of a certain refflorescence. What, however, more appropriately here attracts our attention is the circumstance that the great religious and historic occasion should have been greeted by "messages" not merely from princes and ministers, but from cities and local bodies. This invites a readjustment of our notions of life in north-eastern Tibet and Chinese Turkestan during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.

The occasion was the famous concordat whereby the Tibetans and Chinese sought to terminate a struggle of nearly (A.D. 783), or more than (A.D. 822), a century and a half. An account of these treaties has been given from Chinese sources by Bushell (*JRAS.* 1880, pp. 487 sqq.), and the Lha-sa inscriptions relating to them have been published with translations and discussions by Col. Waddell. This is not the place for an examination of the question whether the treaty inscriptions are two parts of a single document, or the question of the Tibetan dynastic lists; and consequently we do not here decide whether the date of our document is about A.D. 783 or about A.D. 822.¹ What is important for us to note is that the Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan of the document is certainly identical with the Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan of the treaty inscription. The fact that in the document he is once styled "prince" (*lha-sras*) is connected with certain dynastic circumstances which may become clearer hereafter. The two ministers named in the document, Khri-sum-rje and Lha-bzan, are not obviously identifiable with any of

¹ Provisionally it seems to me that the edict edited in 1909 is only the first, or preliminary, part of the treaty of 783 A.D., reciting the previous history. The translations, highly meritorious at the time of their publication, require a thorough revision. We may, however, await the publication of MM. Pelliot and Bacot, who are, it is understood, in possession of new facsimiles of the text.

those whose signatures are appended to the treaty. A probably earlier Councillor Khri-sum-rje is frequently mentioned in the Chronicle (ll. 147-85, years 44-54 = A.D. 715-25).

Another person mentioned as having initiated a war movement against China is a certain "Skam-skyel (or dkyel) the Great", also designated *Thugs-skam*. In the Lha-sa inscriptions (1919, l. 44, 1910, B l. 42) he has hitherto escaped notice as an adviser of the Btsan-po Khri-lde-btsan (= Chinese Ch'ilitsan, c. 780 ?).

The monastery having been erected on the site of the treaty conference, and both the treaties of A.D. 783 and A.D. 821-2 having been concluded at a spot in Tibetan territory near the Chinese frontier and in the region of the Koko-nor lake, it is there that we must locate the "Turquoise-Wood" (*G-yu-tshal*), in the "Luck-summer open pass" (*Bkra-sis-dbyar-mo-thañ*), in the "Phyug-tsams Thousand-District", in "Hbrom-khoñ territory", forming part of the realm of Mdo-gams. The Dbyar-mo-thañ is mentioned in a Lha-sa inscription (*JRAS.* 1910, pp. 1255-67, l. 33 of text); but of the other names none can be identified with the Chinese name (*Ch'ing-shui*) of the place of the A.D. 783 treaty. The *Tsoñ-kha* named in adjacency to Dbyar-mo-thañ in the inscription may very likely be the birth-place of Tsoñ-kha-pa, who was born near the Kum-bum monastery. In the *Chronicle* also a place Tsoñ-ka is mentioned (l. 74). The fact that "messages" are received from the towns of Kva-cu and Mkhar-tsan illustrates the natural connexion which we have already (pp. 72, 78, 82) found between the Koko-Nor region and that part of Chinese Turkestan. The name of the monastery does not transpire; but it is, no doubt, the place referred to in the *Bkah-hgyur* (Beckh, *Catalogue*, p. 74) and *Bstan-hgyur* (Cordier, i, p. 96) as Phyug-mtshams. Hbrom-khoñ is not known; but cf. *Hbrom-stod*, M.I., xiv, 96.

Of the parties to the treaty, the Chinese, the Drug, the Hjañ, and the Tibetans, who are, no doubt, meant by the

"four exalted kings" (*mtho-b'zhi-rgyal-po*) of the treaty inscription (*JRAS.* 1910, p. 951, l. 47 of text), the Chinese and Tibetans demand no comment, and concerning the Drug something has already been said (pp. 68, 80, 85) and it is proposed to return to them later. Of the *Hjañ* we have hitherto had no printed mention beyond the occurrence of the name in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzañ* (ed. S. C. Das, p. 4) and an entry in S. C. Das' Dictionary, where *Hjañ-sa* is explained as a "place-name in N.W. (read N.E.) Tibet". But we may learn from the *Rgyal-rabs . . . me-loñ* (India Office Xylograph, fol. 31a) that the person *Hjañ-tsha-Lha-dbañ* "son of king Khri Lde-gtsug-brtan" (S. C. Das' Dictionary, s.v.), was so named, "*Hjañ* grandson," because the queen, his mother, Khri-btsun, was a *Hjañ-mo*, a *Hjañ* woman: and from the same history we may ascertain more of this people.¹ Since their frontier was probably adjacent to the site of the conference, we are tempted to identify them with the Tang-hsiang kingdom, which according to Bushell (*JRAS.* 1880, pp. 450 and 528, n. 12) was east of the Tibetans and south of the Koko-nor. We know that this kingdom was conquered by the Tibetans, whose aggressions extended not only to the north-east, but also to the east and south-east, as well as in other directions. How far the designation *Hjañ* may have reached, it would be premature to speculate; but it has been observed by M. Bacot (*Les Mo-so*, p. 13) that "le nom des mo-so, *Djung* (*Hdjang*), est relaté dans l'épopée du roi Gésar (Gésar) et designe un pays situé entre le *Ling* (*Gling*) et la Chine". It is possible that the Mo-so in their southern migrations took with them the name *Hjañ*.²

The extent of the document may not have been as great as might be indicated by the fact that the first surviving

¹ The *Hjañ* country *Hjañ-yul* is mentioned also in the *Chronicle* (ll. 22, 92).

² The *Hjañ-sa-tham* of a Tibetan *gsuñ-hbum* ("n. of a place in Kham", acc. to S. C. Das' Dictionary) is perhaps the *Sa-dam* of the Mo-so (*Les Mo-so*, pp. 3, 118, 164).

folio is numbered 35. But we naturally incline to believe that the "message" from Mdo-gams was preceded at least by one from the Tibetan Btsan-po himself and perhaps by others. (See No. 21 *infra*.) Of the first "message" we have only the conclusion, and its source is for us therefore unknown.

The language of the document, in accord with its literary character, is regular and intelligible in a measure quite different from the fragmentary and business records with which we have hitherto for the most part been dealing. It presents many resemblances to the Lha-sa inscriptions, which in several passages may by its aid be emended or completed. The introductory account of the legendary king H_{ol}-lde Spu-rgyal in the inscription at 1909, pp. 948-52, ll. 5-16 of the text, might almost be an extract from our document, which, however, is here, as everywhere, far more expansive and elaborate. The following notes include the analogies in the inscriptions published in Col. Waddell's articles:—

88 A, l. 1, etc., etc. : *mjal-dum*, cf. Lha-sa, 1909, ll. 3, 54, 63, etc., etc.

88 A, l. 3 : "here (there) erected monastery." It would be possible to take *de-ga* "there" as a proper name ; but upon the whole the other view seems preferable.

88 B, l. 1 : *hgag-la* "abide in their station", "remain at a standstill".

88 B, l. 2 : *sku-bla*. On this phrase, see above, p. 66.

88 B, l. 3 : *yul-byun-sa-dod*. So complete Lha-sa, 1909, l. 18.

88 B, l. 2 : *lha-las-myihi-rjer-gsegs-te*. Cf. Lha-sa, 1909, ll. 21-2.

89 A, l. 1 : *hphrul* "theophany". The word means "magic" or "magical manifestation", and was probably a pre-Buddhistic term for the divine.

89 A, l. 2 : *sa-gtsaṅ*, etc. Cf. Lha-sa, 1909, ll. 20-1.

89 A, l. 1 : *Hgreṇ-myi*. Note that this definitely locates

the Hgreñ people in the Koko-Nor region, or perhaps makes them include the people of Mdo-gams as a whole.

88 B, l. 4: *hphral-du* "in the present". So correct p. 76 above.

89 B, l. 4: *gzah-gsañ* "friends and enemies".

91 A, l. 6: *skyems*, literally "thirst".

91 A, l. 4: *srog-chags* . . . The reference is to the two Buddhist prohibitions of killing and of appropriating what is not given (all *adattādāna* being "theft").

91 B, l. 3: *Sgam-dkyel-chen-po* is below (92 B 2, 93 B 1), styled Skam-skyel and Thugs-skam (see above, p. 84). Both names recur Lha-sa, 1909, l. 44, and 1910, B l. 42.

92 A, l. 1: *khebs-te-brjod*. This is a good instance of the use of the form with *te* as a sort of infinitive after a word of saying.

92 A, l. 1: *zin-to-htshal* "will to grasp", literally "wish grasped". The use of the past form with *to* after *htshal* is frequent in the documents.

92 A, l. 1: *la-ltod* = *la-thod* "turban" (S. C. Das)? I correct *kye* to *kyi* in accordance with the passage below.

92 A, l. 4: *g-yul-zlog-gñis*. The two great victories are perhaps not identifiable. Concerning the part played by the city of Mkhar-tsan, see above, p. 82.

94 A, l. 4: *srid-la-myi-dbab-ciñ*. The phrase occurs Lha-sa, 1911, C l. 64.

94 B, l. 2: *rkyen* "means"; see above, p. 837.

94 B, l. 3: *nam-žar* recurs in Lha-sa, 1910, C l. 48.

ADDENDUM

20. Ch. 75, xii, 5 (vol. liii, fol. 20; 31.5 × 17 cm.; *recto* . ll. 6, *verso* ll. 11 + 1 inserted, of ordinary *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ཨ || glañ . gi . loñi . dpyid . sla . hbriñ . po . tshes .
bž[i] . la || lha . sras . ky[i] . sku . yon . bla . skyes . nar . ma ||
Śa . cu . gtsug . [2] lag . khañ . du . žugs . mar . bltam . ste |
gtsug . lag . khañ . Pho . kvañ . sir | tshes . bžihñ . n[u]b . mo |
lha . hbañs | 'I[m] . [3] Dam . then . hdo . gis . | yu . mar .

phul . lña . phul . the || žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bltams || tshes .
 l[ñ]aḥi . nub . mo . 'Im [4] Dam . then . ḥdo . gis | yu . mar .
 phul . lña . phul . the || žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bltams ||
 tshes . [dru]g . gi . nub . mo . 'Im . Dam [5] [then . ḥdo] .
 gis . yu . mar . phul . dgu . phul . the || žugs . mar . kha .
 brgyaḥ . brgyad . cu . bltams || tshes . [b]cuḥi . nub . mo .
 'Im . Dam [6] then . [ḥ]do . gis . yu . mar . phul . phyed .
 dañ . lña . phul . the | žugs . mar . kha ¹ . dgu . bcu . bltams .
 . . . [verso].

[B 1] žugs . mar . kha . drug . cu . bltams || Li . Kim .
 kañ . gis . yu . mar . phul . bdun . phul . te | žugs . mar .
 kha . brgyaḥ . bži . bechu [B 2] bltams || tshes . ñi . śu .
 brgyad . gyi . nub . mo . blon . Gthug . bžre ² . gyis . yu .
 mar . phul . bdun . dañ | khyor . phyed . dañ . do . phul . te ||
 žugs . [3] mar . kha . brgya ³ . bži . bcu . rtsa . bdun . bltams |
 . . . ⁴ dgun . sla . tha . chuñs . tshes . lñaḥi . nub . mo . Wañ .
 Cvan . cvan . gyis . yu [4] mar . phul . bdun . phul . te |
 žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bži . bechu . bltams || tshes . bcu .
 bžiḥi . nub . mo | blon . Lho . bzañ . [5] gi . yu . mar . 'An .
 Zen . tses . yu . phul . bcu . dañ | khyor . do . phul . te |
 žugs . mar . kha . ñis . brgyaḥ . rtsa . bcu . bltams || [6] tshes .
 beo . lñaḥi . nub . mo | lha . ḥbañs . Hag . Khi . šeḥu . yu .
 mar . phul . bdun . phul . te | žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bži .
 cu . bltams | [7] tshes . ñi . śu . nub . mo | Cañ . Kvañ . thoñ .
 gis] ⁵ . yu . mar . phul . bcu . phul . te | žugs . mar . kha .
 ñis . brgyaḥ . bltams || tshes . ñi . śu . gñis . kyi . nub . mo
 [9] Cañ . Kvañ . thoñ . gis ⁶ . phul . bcu . phul . te || žugs .
 mar . kha . ñis . brgyaḥ . bltams || tshes . ñi ⁷ . śu ⁷ . gsum
 [10] gyi . nub . mo . | Cañ . Kvañ . gis . yu . phul . bcu . phul .

¹ *brgyad . cu* here erased.

² Compendious for *bžer*.

³ *ḥ* here erased.

⁴ *dbya* here erased.

⁵ *yu . mar . phul . lña . phul . te | žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bltams || tshes .*
ñi . śu . cig . (8) gi . nu here erased.

⁶ *phul . te* here erased.

⁷ Added below line.

te | žugs . mar¹ . kha . ñis . brgya . bltam . [11] tshes . ñi .
 sú . bži . hi . nub . mo . Cañ . Kvañ . thoñ . yu . mar . phul .
 bcu . phul . te | žugs . mar . kha . ñis . brgyaḥ . bltam |

[Inverted] . . . n . . . | Keḥu . Lyañ (Syañ ?) . kañ .
 žog . . .

[1-2] "On the fourth day of the middle spring month of the Ox year, the prince (*lha-sras*) having become an exalted donor in perpetuity, lamp-oil was provided in the monastery(ies) of Śa-cu. [2-6] In the monastery Pho-kvañ-si on the evening of the fourth day the god's servant 'Im² Dam-then-ḥdo presented five *phul*³ of *yu* oil, resulting in one hundred portions of lamp-oil. On the evening of the fifth day 'Im² Dam-then-ḥdo presented five *phul* of *yu* oil, resulting in one hundred portions of lamp-oil. (So on the sixth and tenth days 9 and 4½ *phul*, resulting in 180 and 90 lamp-lights respectively.)

[B 1] . . . resulting in sixty portions of lamp-oil. Li Kim-kañ presented seven *phul* of *yu* oil, resulting in one hundred and forty portions of lamp-oil. On the evening of the twenty-eighth day Councillor Gtshug-bžer presented seven *phul* and with a half two *khyor*, resulting in one hundred and forty-seven portions of lamp-oil. On the evening of the fifth day of the last winter month Wañ Cvan-cvan presented seven *phul* of *yu* oil, resulting in one hundred and forty portions of lamp-oil. (The remainder of the document, B ll. 4-11, reports similar donations by 'An Žen-tse (for Councillor Lho-bzañ), the God's servant Hag Khi-śeḥu, and Cañ Kvañ-thoñ.)"

The facts ascertainable from this record of donations to provide illuminations in honour of the prince becoming patron of the Śa-cu monastery seem to be the following:—

(a) *Pho-kvañ-si* is a monastery, and the word *si* (Chinese, as suggested above) may represent, as Professor Pelliot has kindly suggested to me, the Chinese *ssü* "temple".

(b) *lha-hbañs* is, no doubt, "god's servant", not "king's servant".

¹ žu here erased.

² Erased.

³ A measure defined as a "handful".

(c) As the number of lamps is consistently proportional to the number of *phul* presented, namely in the proportion of 20 to 1, and as $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 *khyor* provide for 7 and 10 lamps respectively, it follows that 1 *khyor* = $\frac{1}{4}$ *phul*, which latter measure is defined as "a handful".

(d) The phrase "with a half two" (*phyed-dan-do*) means not "two and a half", but "one and a half", corresponding to Sanskrit *ardha-dvīṭya*, German *halb-zwei*, etc. (and analogously in the case of other units?). Correct accordingly the renderings on pp. 809, 811-2, 814 (but not 843) above?

The expression "*yu* oil" has not elsewhere been found. Possibly *yu* is for *rgyu* "material", so that "*yu* oil" would be raw or unpurified oil.

21. (Vol. liii, fol. 1; 28 + 26 cm.; ll. 15 of good, cursive *dbu-can* writing; very fragmentary.)

[1] d [2] . . dpah | . . [3] . . . paḥi || h̄j
 [4] . . . | lha-sras . Khri . Gtsug . lde . btsan . gy[i]
 [5] . . b̄zin . bg[yi]s . te || dge . ḥdun . sde . gñis . dañ
 [6] . . s stsogs . pa || skye . bo . smos . mañ . po . tshe . dpag .
 d[u] . myed [7] . . [l]ha . sras . Khri . Gtsug . lde¹ | .
 btsan¹ | . gi . ḥa . sñā . nas . || sku . la . sñun . nad . myi .
 mña[h̄] [8] bar . che || chab . srid . rtseg² . mar .
 mtho . ḥiñ . || byin . rlabs . yañ . bas . ḥph [9]
 phyogs . [g]yi . gnod . byed . kyī . bgegs . dañ . || bsam . ba .
 log . par . ḥdabs s[ts]og[s] [10] rab . tu . ḥi .
 nas || sku . la . sdo . b dbañ . du . ḥdus . par . gyur .
 chig [1] | lha . sra[s] . kyī . ḥa . [sñā] . . . [11] rnam .
 gñi[s] . [s]in . [b] l—s . par . byañ | . . . gse . ch . . . s . ni .
 yons . su . rdzogs . nas || sañ[s] . . . [12] —u . [n]i . yon .
 tan . sku . tshe . ḥdi . ñid . kyis . b̄zes . par . gyur . c[i]g || lha .
 s[r]as . kyī . ḥa . sñā . nas . ji . lta . s [13] chag . dkyil .
 ḥkhor . tu . ḥugs . pa . rnams . kyañ || tshe . riñ . nad . myed .
 nas || bsam . ba . yi [14] cig || [m]thaḥ . yas . paḥi .
 sems . can . dañ . Bod . kham . phyogs . su . yañ . da[l] .

¹ Added below the line.

² g below line.

hbyor . dan . bd[e] [15] tshogs . nas || myi . nad .
phyugs . nad . myed . ciñ . lo . phyugs . rtag . du . legs . par .
[smon] . to ||

This passage is clearly a portion of another copy, or version, of the long document No. 19 above. Though it is for the most part too fragmentary for a connected rendering, the general sense is evident. It prays that in virtue of the action of the prince (*lha-sras*) Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan the Saṃghas of both sexes and all creatures may enjoy happiness and unlimited life; that the prince himself, free from sickness, exalted in dominion, rid of all opposition and so forth, may attain to Buddhahood in his present life; that all those under his sway may have long life and freedom from disease; and that "innumerable living beings and all throughout the realm of Tibet, in complete felicity and happiness, free from disease in man and beast, may be perpetually prosperous in the produce of the year".

INDEX

A

List of clan-names contained in the documents 1-21, together with the accompanying personal names. N.B.—Names which seem to be Tibetan are *italicized*.

'An : *Dge-lam* 17, *Dzañ-tse* 15 (B 11), *Dze-hiñ* 12, *Guñ-legs* 15 (D 20), *Lha-legs* 15 (D 10), *Phab-dzañ* 15 (C 13), *Stag-cuñ* 15 (C 18), *Weñ-tse* 15 (B 11), *Žen-tse* 20. **Bah** : *Kun-kun* 12. **Bam** : *Cheñu-hdo* 18 (B 3), *He-he* 13, *Hya-hdo* 15 (D 14), *Hyen-tse* 15 (B 14-5), *Ju-ju* 15 (D 7), 18 (C 4), *Koñ-cu* 13, *Kun-tse* 12, *Li-hvag* 18 (C 5), *Li-tshen* 18 (C 5), *Log-log* 3, *Šib-lug-ñañ* 13, *Si-ka* 18 (B 16), *Stag-legs* 18 (B 17), *Stag-slebs* 2, 15 (C 12), *Stag-zigs* 18 (A 13), *Tig-tse* 13, *Tsheñ* 18 (B 2), *Yiñ* 13. **Bañ** : *Dzin-jehu* 15 (D 3), *Goñ-legs* 15 (C 25), *I-tse* 15 (D 11), *Legs-ma* 15 (C 24). **Beg** : *Hye-wi* 13, *Khe-šehu* 15 (B 21), *Ti-phor* 13. **Boñ** : *La-ku* 9. **Bor** : *Yon-tse* 10. **Buñ** : *Šun-šun* 18 (B 13), *Hiñ-šeñ* 18 (B 19).

Cañ : Beñ-ñañ 13, *Bstan-bzañ* 15 (C 15), Cin-hañ 13, Cīñ-ññi 15 (B 5), Dig-ḥdo 18 (A 12), *Dpal-legs* 15 (C 15), Dze-tse 12, Gen-tse 12, Gu-gu 5, Hbye-tig 12, Hgem-tse 13, Hig-tse 15 (B 1), *Hphan-legs* 18 (C 9-10), Hva-hva 12, Hye-na 15 (C 1), 'I-tse 15 (D 13), Ka-cin 18 (B 12), Ka-dzo 2, 12, 15 (C 7), 18 (C 2, 6), Keḥu-keḥu 13, *Klu-legs* 2, Kun-tse 2, 12, Kvañ-thoñ 20, Kyin-tshe 15 (D 11, 13), La-tshir 12, *Legs-sṭsan* 15 (C 9), Leḥu-cin 12, *Lha-khri* 15 (C 5), *Lha-legs* 18 (A 6-7), Lyañ-ḥgi 15 (C 17), Peḥu-peḥu 12, *Rma-legs* 15 (D 9), Rya-ḥdo 18 (A 1), Śañ-ñañ 13, Seḥu-seḥu 12, 15 (C 4), Śeñ-ñañ 13, Si-ka 18 (B 6), Śim-ḥgo 13, Śiñ-man 13, Śiñ-ñañ 13, *Stag-snañ* 15 (C 14), *Stagu* 15 (C 4), Theḥu-cuñ 12, Tsheñ-tsheñ 12, Tshe-śiñ 3, Tsin-tse 18 (A 11), Tsin-tsin 18 (B 5), Yeḥu-yeḥu 13, Žañ-tse 12, Žun-žun 18 (A 2). **Cheg :** Beñ-ñañ 13, Bo-de-sim 13 (a woman), Žir-cin 13. **Cin :** Tam-ñañ 13. **Dañ :** Kheñ-kheñ 15 (B 19). **Dar :** *Rgyal-ma* 2. **Dbah :** *Ye-śes-dbañ-po* 17, *Dpal-dbyaṅs* 17. **Dbas :** *Byañ-cub-rin-cen* 17. **Den :** *Stag-legs* 15 (D 12), *Tshar-tiñ* 15 (D 18). **Do :** *Stag-cuñ* 15 (B 3), Syañ-ḥdo 18 (B 11), Theḥi-beñ 18 (B 12). **Dvan :** Bur-ži 15 (C 25), Hig-tse 15 (C 8), Hiñ-dar 12, Keḥu-ži 12. **Dzeḥu :** Cu-cu 18 (B 26), Cvan-cvan 15 (D 22), Gog-tsheñ 2, Kve-kve 12, Lañ-tshe 15 (D 22), Mun-ba 15 (D 24), Śib-tig 12, Śiñ-śiñ 15 (D 24), Tsin 18 (B 2). **Glehu :** *Gzo-nu-sñiñ-po* 17. **Gño :** *Dge-ldem* 17. **Gños :** Ho-se, p. 818. **Ha :** *Stag-slebs* 15 (D 7). **Hag :** Dzeḥu-śun 12, Khi-seḥu 20. **Han :** Then-tig 18 (A 12). **Hba :** Ko-lon 15 (B 13). **Hbah :** Bur-ḥdo 18 (B 23), Ji-tsañ (woman) 13. **Hbeg :** Deḥu 18 (B 6). **Hbu :** *Bstan-legs* 15 (D 1), Kvañ-ži 18 (B 4). **Hdan-ma :** *Bkun-dgaḥ-dpal* 17. **Heḥu :** *Legs-koñ* 15 (D 9). **Hgo :** Kañ-gañ 15 (C 21), Śeḥu-han 15 (D 12), Śiñ-tse 13, *Stag-po* 15 (B 9), *Stag-tse* 15 (C 20), Yem-ñañ 13. **Hgreñ-ro :** *Dgeḥi-blo-gros* 17. **Hva :** *Stag-legs* 15 (B 1). **'Im :** Bur-ḥdo 15 (D 15), Dam-then-ḥdo 20, Dzi-hvan 15 (D 6), 'Eñ-tse 15 (D 6), *Gtsug-legs* 15 (C 10, 11), Hbi-ñañ 13, Him-tse 15 (D 17, 21), Hiñ-hun 18 (A 9), Hiñ-rneḥu 18 (A 10), Hi-yir-yañ 13, Ka-tsin 18 (B 24), Kvañ-wen 13,

Kveh-señ 13, Pho-cin (a woman), 13. **Jehu** : *Br̄tan-koñ* 15, *Kog-tsheñ* 15 (C 25), *Tshe-tshe* 12, *Tsin-thoñ* 18 (B 18), *Zi-ñañ* 12. **Jeñ** : *Deñ-h̄do* 18 (B 4), *H̄go-h̄go* 15 (C 23), *Gsal-rab-rin-po-che* 17, *'I-tse* 15 (B 18), *Legs-rt̄san* 15 (C 22), *'On-tse* 15 (B 20), **Jiñ** : *H̄do-tse* 15 (C 27), *Hig-tse* 15 (C 3), *Ho-ho* 15 (C 19), **Keñu** : *Dras-koñ* 18 (B 26), *Ko-lon* 15 (D 15), *L (S) yañ-koñ* 20, *Rgyal-slebs* 15 (B 6), *Śib-tig* 15 (B 7), *Smon-legs* 15 (B 16), *Stag-cuñ* 15 (D 23). **Khañ** : *Bstan-legs* 15 (D 4), *Bstan-slebs* 15 (B 4), *Dpal-legs* 15 (C 2), *Stag-slebs* 15 (D 3), *Stag-tshab* 15 (D 1), *Ten-h̄ba* 18 (B 25), *Tsin-khvañ* 18 (A 29), *Weñ-ñañ* 13. **Kheñu** : *Bzañ-goñ* 5, *Yem-ñañ* 13. **Khoñ** : *Man-tse* 3, *Rtsan-tse* 15 (C 10), *Sbañ-tse* 1, *Smon-legs* 15 (C 11), *Theñi-ñañ* 13. **Khyuñ-po** : *Stag-legs* 4, 10 (?). **Koñ** : *Tseñi-tseñi* 18 (B 30). **Kvag** : *Ji-lim* (a woman), 13, *Keñu-ñi* 15 (C 16), *Tam-tam* 13. **Kyer** : *Chañ-kog* 15 (B 13). **La** : *Legs-lod* 5. **Lbe** (*H̄be* ? *Lce* ?) -*ñi* : *Rnal-hbyor-skyor* 17. **Lbeñi** : *Kvañ-h̄do* 18 (B 9). **Len** : *Hva-sim* (a woman), 13. **Leñ** : *Señu-señu* 13, *Siñu-siñu* 13, *Theñi-cin* 13. **Leñ-ho** : *'An-ñi* 18 (B 21), *Don-tshe* 15 (B 1), *Khrom-stañ* 15 (D 17), *Hva-hva* 18 (B 1), *Liñ-lug* 5, *Señu-chon* 15 (B 19), *Śib-bir* 5, *Śib-tig* 5, *Siñu-lañ* 18 (A 4), *Yehu-yehu* 13, *Žun-žun* 18 (B 20-1). **Li** : *'An-tshe* 15 (D 26), *G-yu-legs* 15 (B 9), *He-he* 13, *Hva-kog* 18 (B 31), *Jiñ-'an* 12, *Kañ-tse* 4, *Lha-skyes* 15 (D 5), *Mcheñu-za* *Siñu-h̄ju* 13, *Señu-lañ* 18 (B 12), *Señu-señu* 18 (C 1), *Stag-skyes* 15 (D 2), *Tsin-dar* 15 (B 13), *Tsun-h̄do* 18 (B 10), *Wañ-jehu* 15 (C 2), *Yen-h̄do* 18 (B 10). **Lihu** : *Bun-h̄de* 18 (B 8), *Man-tse* 18 (B 8), *Stag-sña* 18 (B 19). **Lne** : *Hva-cañ* (a woman) 13. **Lyañ** : *H̄go-h̄go* 18 (C 2). **Mcheñu** : *Siñu-h̄ju* 13. **Mog** : *Kyem-po* 9. **Myañ** : *Gsa-myi-go-cha* 17, *Mchog-ro-ḡzo-nu* 17, *Rin-cen-byañ-cub* 17, *Zañ-snañ* 10. **Nem** : *Dgañ-ldan-byañ-cub* 17. **Phag** : *Stag-l[egs]* 7. **Phu** : *Tan-myin* 15 (D 16). **Phuñ** : *Dge-rgyas* 17. **Sag** : *'An-sab* 13, *Dge-legs* 15 (C 19, D 10), *Dpañ-br̄tsan* 15 (B 13), *H̄be* 18 (C 3), *Heñi-jehu* 18 (C 12), *H̄gven-h̄gven* 18 (C 8), *'In-tse* 15 (C 26), *'I-tse* 13, *Jehu-jehu* 18 (C 7). *Keñu-ce* 13, *Kog-tsheñ* 18 (C 14), *Kun-tse* 15 (C 26), *Kvañ-wen*

18 (C 11), *Legs-skyes* 15 (B 14, 15), *Lha-bzer* 15 (C 6), Pa-tshe 18 (C 13), Tsin-beñ 18 (C 13), Weñ-kog 18 (A 8). **Sañ** : Dza-rga 13. **Seg** : *Lha-ton* 15 (B 18). **Šeg** : *Dge-brtsan* 15 (B 5), *Lha-ston* 15 (B 4). Hyen-hyen 15 (B 7), Tsheñ-tsheñ 14 (B 15, 20). **Ser** : Dzin-'in 12, Kheñ-kheñ 12, Kun 12, *Legs-ma* 15 (D 8, 28), *Mdo-skyes* 18 (B 14). **Ser-sbyoñ** : *G-yu-bzer* 11. **Šig** : *Dge-brtan* 15 (D 19), *Hgi-tig* 15 (B 6). **So** : *Legs-tsan* 15 (D 29). **Son** : Hyen-tse 15 (B 16), Šin-hdo 15 (D 27). **Soñ** : *Bstan* 15 (B 17), *G-yu-legs* 15 (C 1), *Hgin-hgin* 13, *Rñeñu-tshe* 18 (A 11), Sam-ñāñ¹ | (a woman) 5, Šiñ 12, *Stag-ma* 15 (C 10), Tsin-hvi 18 (A 9). **Tañ** : Pho-brin (a woman) 13. **Then** : Ben-'em 13. **Toñ** : Phug-man 12, *Stag-cuñ* 15 (C 7), Thoñ-thoñ 12, Wañ-hdo 12, Yu-tsheñ 18 (B 10). **Tre** : *Mye-slebs* 2, 3, 4. **Tsah** : Bur-hdo 18 (B 22). **Tsehi** : *Hig-tse* 15 (D 7). **Tsoñ** : Dze-šiñ 12, Dze-tsheñ 12, Tsheñ-tsheñ 12. **Tsyañ** : *Legs-hdus* 15 (C 12). **Wañ** : Beñ-ñāñ 13, Bun-tsoñ 1, Chañ 13, Cvana 15 (B 15), Cvan-cvan 20, Deñ-tse 15 (B 18), Dzin-sen 12, Hig-tse 15 (B 12), Hiñ-tse 15 (C 16), Hva-kun 18 (B 28), Hyen-hyen 15 (B 5), Kog-ne 12, Kun-tse 12, Kvañ-hiñ 18 (A 5), Kvañ-cheñu 18 (B 17), Kyen-man 13, Kyva-yin 18 (B 29), *Legs-brtan* 15 (D 24, 25), Man-tse 13, Sa-hdo 18 (B 29), *Šes-rab-sla-ba* 17, Šib-ñāñ 13, Šib-si-ñāñ 13, Šib-tig 18 (B 7), Šiñ-si-ñāñ 13, *Stag-cuñ* 15 (C 16), *Stagu* 18 (B 27), *Stag-zigs* 15 (D 26), Šun-thoñ 15 (B 10), Tsheñ-tsheñ 12, Tyam-si 13, Weñ-jehñu 15 (B 11). **Wehi** : Ciñ-ñāñ 13. **Yam** : *Hgi-ñāñ* 13. **Yañ** : *G-yu-tse* 12, Kog-buñ 15 (B 18), Phu-cu 13, *Stag-legs* 12. **Yehñu** : Lañ-lañ 15 (D 8). **Yem** : Šim-si-ñāñ 13. **Yun** : 'An-tse 15 (B 20). **Zen** : Khyam-tse 15 (C 23). **Zim** : Hiñ-tse 12, Ju-ju 12, Kvon-hiñ 12, Li-theñu 12. **Za-sna**² : *Hjam-dpal-sñiñ-po* 17.

These names, if we omit those in italics, which are Tibetan (perhaps translations), seem to be in the main Chinese, and in many cases their meanings are certain or probable. A careful scrutiny from a Sinologist standpoint may explain

¹ So read in text (in place of *Sam-ñuñ*).

² This phrase usually means "presence".

the majority and indicate those, if any (e.g. some under **Beg** and **Šaň** ?), which may be extraneous. It seems probable that the **Im** clan gave its name to the town **Im-ka-cin**, mentioned above (pp. 67-8). The natural suggestion that the **Li** clan consisted of people from Khotan is not confirmed by the personal names of its members.

B

List of names of women (mainly from document No. 13) :—

| | |
|--|--|
| Be <u>h</u> -za <u>n</u> 5. | Hyen-cher 13. |
| Bode-sim (Cheg-za) 13. | „ -tig 13. |
| Bya <u>n</u> -ce <u>h</u> u 13. | |
| | Ji-hva <u>h</u> i-man 13. |
| Ce <u>ñ</u> -se <u>ñ</u> 13. | „ -'i <u>n</u> 13. |
| „ -sin 13. | „ -lim (Kvag-za) 13. |
| Cin- <u>h</u> g <u>o</u> 13. | „ -tsa <u>ñ</u> 13 (<u>H</u> ba <u>h</u>). |
| | Jim-hye <u>h</u> i 13. |
| De <u>ñ</u> -ci 13. | |
| „ -man 13. | Kag- <u>h</u> byi <u>h</u> u 13. |
| „ -tse <u>h</u> u 13. | Khye-wen 13. |
| <u>H</u> bu-nem 13. | Kim-hyen 13. |
| <u>H</u> bye <u>h</u> - <u>h</u> dzi 13. | Kvag-hye <u>h</u> i 13. |
| „ -kag 13. | Kva <u>ñ</u> - <u>h</u> gam 13. |
| „ -na <u>ñ</u> 13. | Kyen- <u>h</u> gi 13. |
| „ -sin 13. | Kye <u>ñ</u> - <u>h</u> go 13. |
| „ -tse <u>ñ</u> 13. | |
| „ -wen 13. | La <u>ñ</u> -ca <u>h</u> u 13. |
| „ -yu <u>ñ</u> 13. | Le <u>h</u> -cin 13. |
| <u>H</u> byi <u>h</u> - <u>h</u> gi 13. | |
| „ -ji 13. | Me <u>ñ</u> -ge 13. |
| „ -me <u>ñ</u> 13. | „ -hin 13. |
| <u>H</u> gim- <u>ś</u> i <u>n</u> 13. | „ -hyve <u>h</u> i 13. |
| Hva-ca <u>ñ</u> (Lne) 13. | „ -kag 13. |
| „ - <u>h</u> gem 13. | „ -lur 13. |
| „ -sim (Len) 13. | „ -tig 13. |

Pho-brin (Tañ-za) 13.

,, -ci 13.

,, -cin ('Im) 13.

Phu-za-sim 13.

Phyañ-ceñ 13.

Po-śvan 13.

Sam-ñan (Soñ) 5.

Siñ-hgehi 13.

Śin-ci 13.

,, -cin 13.

,, -hgo 13.

,, -kag 13.

Śin-tsañ 13.

Śvan-kvañ 13.

Thehi-cin 13.

,, -ciñ 13.

Thoñ-cehu 13.

Tig-hbyihu 13.

,, -nem 13.

,, -śin 13.

Wen-hgo 13.

Zu-señ 13.

C

List of places, peoples, and countries mentioned in documents Nos. 1-21 and in connexion therewith :—

Bde-gams 11, 14 (B 18).

Bkra-śis-dbyar-mo-thañ 19
(94, B 1).

Bog-yas 7.

Bra-ma-thañ p. 816.

Bsam-yas 17.

Byar-liñs-tshal, p. 816.

Cog-ro 17.

Dañ-to-kun 7, 8.

Dbyar-mo-thañ 19 (94 B 1).

Dra-tshal, p. 816.

Drug 19 (89 B 2, etc.).

Drug-chun 1.

Gir-kis 7.

Glin-riñs-tshal, p. 816.

Go-cu 17.

Gro-pur, p. 816.

G-yu-tshal 19 (90 B 2, etc.).

Ha-ža 8, 11.

Hbrog-Sluñs 9.

Hbrom-khoñ 19 (94 A 2).

Hgo-bom 17.

Hgreñ-ro 17, 19 (89 A 1, etc.).

Hi-ma-te 11.

Hjañ 19 (89 B. 2, etc.).

Hon-can-do 6.

Hphrul-snañ 17.

Kam-bcu 17.

Khri-boms 10.

Khar-tsan 9, 19 (91 B 2, etc.).

Kva-cu 1, 7, 9, 11, 14, 19
(92 B 1).

| | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Lañ-hgro 17. | Rgya 1, 19 (89 B 2, etc.). |
| Leñ-cu 7. | Rgyod 5. |
| Leñ-ho 5. | |
| Lha-luñ 17. | Śa-cu 1, 6, 7, 14 (B 15-18). |
| Lhas-gaṇ-tshal, p. 816. | Sag-cur 7. |
| | Śi-goṇ-bu 17. |
| Ma-hdri-ba 10. | Skyi, p. 816. |
| Mdo-gams 11, 17, 19 (88 A 1) | Sluṅs 9. |
| Mgar-yul 10. | Sñiñ-tsom(s), p. 808. |
| Mkhar-tsan 9, 19 (91 B 2, etc.) | Śo-ma-ra, p. 816. |
| | Spyi-tshogs 4. |
| Nan-lam 17. | Stoñ-sar 1, 15 (B 1, etc.). |
| Nan-rma 9. | |
| Nob-chuñu 9. | To-yo-chas-la 10. |
| | Tsog(Cog)-ro 17. |
| Pho-kvañ 12. | Tsog-stod 9. |
| Phyug-tsams 19 (93 A 2). | Tshal-byi 9. |
| | |
| Rgod-gyuñ, p. 816. | Zaṇ-zuñ 10. |
| Rgod-sar 1, 2, 12. | Zar-phur, p. 816. |

ADDITIONAL NOTES

p. 813. *Sam-ñuñ*. Since *ñu* is hardly distinguishable in the writing from *ña*, this name should doubtless be read *Sam-ñañ*, thus falling into line with the other names in *ñañ* preceded by a numeral (pp. 831-2), in this case 3 (*Sam*).

p. 817. *tshi-śi* = Chinese *ts'e-che*. Professor Pelliot has kindly favoured me with the observation that the latter is an ancient *ts'ik-śi* = Uigur *čigši*. *Tshi-śi* also may be for *tshig-si*, since we have had evidence of weakness of *g* at the end of a syllable (*a-nog-a-la* = *anuttara*, 1926, p. 508, and *Thehu-kyig-si* = Chinese *Tu-k'i-she*, i.e. Turgäsh, supra (p. 283).

p. 816 and p. 840. *To-dog*. Professor Pelliot points out that this will be *tu-tu* "governor", originally *tu-tuk*, and borrowed by the Turks of the Orkhon in the form *tutuq*.

p. 829. *Pho-kvañ-si* and *Leñ-ho-si*. Professor Pelliot

proposes to understand the former as *P'u-kuang-ssü*, i.e. "P'u-kuang temple". Some difficulty arises, however, as he points out, since this sense of *si* does not perhaps quite suit with *Leñ-ho*, which he finds to be "the 'double surname' *Ling-hu*, fairly common in Northern China in the Middle Ages".

pp. 831-2. *ñan*. Professor Pelliot suggests that in the feminine names this represents Chinese *niang* "daughter", "(unmarried) woman."

p. 65: *Mdo-gams* is the name transcribed *To-kan* (i.e. *Do-gam*) under the Mongols and the Ming; see Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, ii, pp. 203, 224 (Professor Pelliot).

p. 84. *zan Khri-sum-rje*. This is the name transcribed *Shang Ch'i-hsin-êrh* in Chinese texts of the T'ang (Professor Pelliot).

p. 87. *Hgreñ*. This may be the native name represented by the *Ch'iang* (*K'iang*), which the Chinese apply to the Tibetans of Kan-su, SSü-chuan and Koko-Nor (Professor Pelliot).

p. 92. 'Im. This is the Chinese *Yin* (*Yim*), a family name common at Tun-huang, though rare elsewhere (Professor Pelliot).

A Hitherto Unknown Turkish Manuscript in "Uighur" Characters

By G. L. M. CLAUSON

(PLATES II AND III)

BRITISH Museum MS. Or. 8193 was presented to the Museum on the 18th July, 1918, by one of our members, Mr. R. S. Greenshields (I.C.S., retd.). It had been purchased by him at a sale held on behalf of the British Red Cross Society in London on 22nd April, 1918. I understand that the MS. was presented to the British Red Cross Society by Sir Douglas Seton Stuart, in whose family it had been for many years. It was no doubt brought from India by one of the donors' ancestors, whose name, "The Honble. A. Seton, Esq.," is written on the fly-leaf in a hand which recalls the late eighteenth century. A note in the same hand on the first folio of the MS. states that it is in the "ancient pehlawee character" (a statement apparently founded on a similar note in Persian on the margin of the *recto* of the second folio) and that "according to another information . . . a certain religious person, Mohummud Moostukeem of Nornawl, intimated that this book had been presented to him by one of his pupils in the reign of Mohummud Shah (i.e. between A.D. 1719 and 1748), but no one can read it. Also in the time of the Nawab Feiz Gullub Khan it had been presented to the inspection of a learned Molawee of Delhie, who could not read it, but judged the writing to be in the ancient Cuffic character." The only other evidence of the history of the MS. which appears to survive is a note in Persian written in the field of the miniature on folio 87^v, as follows:—

مولود فرزندی اغری طواله (sic) عمرها زینب سلطان خانم شب
شبه ییست وینجم شهر صفر سنه الف یک انشا الله تعالی قدمش
بر جمیع دوستان بحق محمد واله امجد مبارک باد

"Birth of a daughter, may God prolong her life, Zeinab Sultan Khanum on the night of Sunday, the 25th of Safar, A.H. 1001 (=A.D. 1593). If God pleases, may her steps be blessed among all the friends in the righteousness of Muhammad and his most glorious family."

The nature of the MS., but not its contents, was known to the original owner and since it reached the Museum it has been examined by Professor Barthold, who confirmed the statement that the MS. was in the " Uighur " script, and neither " pehlawee " nor " Cuffie " and wrote a note of the contents (with certain minor omissions and inaccuracies) which is now attached to the fly-leaf.

The MS. is now, however, in a very different state from that in which it was when it left the scribe's hands. The first stage in its decline and fall was the destruction of the original binding, so that a number of leaves were lost or misplaced, and the whole book turned inside out. It is also possible that at this stage two folios from a completely different MS., written, however, by the same scribe, now numbered folios 179 and 180, found their way into this volume.

The next stage was when it was rebound, more or less in its present order, and used not as a Turkish MS. but as a book containing various suitable expanses of bare paper, on which were written the poems, in Persian, of one Kamāl Isma'īl.

I have not examined this later text in any way, and shall therefore not refer to it again.

The third stage was in more recent times, when the book was again taken to pieces, and each leaf was mounted carefully in the centre of a larger leaf of comparatively modern oriental paper, a good deal thicker and coarser than the original. It seems probable that after this, the book again fell into disrepair, as one of the series of numerations referred to immediately below, which is repeated both on the inner and the outer leaves, shows certain gaps. Since the MS. reached the Museum it has been rebound in the original covers.

In its present state the MS. contains 182 folios, of which the first bears the note in English referred to above, and is entirely of the later paper.

There are two earlier series of numerations in the MS., both in Indian Arabic hands. The shorter series is in black

ink in the inner upper corner of the recto of certain folios ; the longer series is in red ink in the outer upper corner of the recto of the original folios, and in part repeated in the outer upper corner of the leaves in which they are mounted. Neither series represents anything like the original order of the folios.

It will be convenient to divide the description of the MS. into three sections : (1) the paper ; (2) the illuminations ; and (3) the text.

The paper is a good oriental paper with a slightly glossy surface. It was originally arranged in quires of eight, but has since fallen into considerable disorder. As each leaf is mounted separately, it is fortunate that the leaves are in some cases slightly tinted, so that the arrangement in quires can largely be reconstructed. The great majority of the leaves are a more or less yellowish white ; a few are brown, buff, or pink of various shades. In their present state the original leaves measure about 8 in. by $4\frac{3}{4}$ in., in some cases a little less. Most leaves have been slightly wormed, in some cases before they lost their original order. A certain number bear pricked designs, which appear to have been something in the nature of primitive tracing for the purpose of ensuring identity of outline between two designs. In all cases the pricking is accidental so far as our leaves are concerned, and was done before they fell into disorder, probably indeed before the text was written. As will be shown below, the illuminations are for the most part inserted on a systematic plan. By using all these items of evidence, therefore, (1) colour of paper, (2) worm-holes, (3) prickings, (4) arrangement of illuminations, and (5) the text, it has been possible to establish an order of leaves which is probably correct. I understand that the Museum authorities propose to reassemble the leaves in this order, but the original numeration will have to be preserved also for those students who are more interested in the works of Kamāl Isma'il than in the Turkish text.

Though the MS. presents other points of great interest, the illuminations are perhaps the most remarkable feature. As

far as I am aware only one other MS. in the late " Uighur " character is illuminated, that of the Mi'rāj Nāma in Paris,¹ but there is no resemblance between the styles of illumination of the two MSS. If we examine the Persian MSS. of the Timurid School, parallels to details of ornament can be found, but there appears to be no close parallel either to the general arrangement or to the chromatic scale of the illuminations. The four MSS. known to me, which provide parallels of detail are the following : (1) B.M. MS. Add 27261, a Persian MS. of mixed contents written and illuminated for a Timurid Governor of Fars in A.H. 813-14 (A.D. 1410-11). An account of this unusually fine and famous MS. will be found in Rieu's Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the B.M., pp. 868-71. Reproductions of pages will be found :—

(a) At No. 49 in the Oriental Series of the Palæographical Society.

(b) In F. R. Martin's *The Miniature Painting of Persia, India, and Turkey* (London : Quaritch, 1912), vol. ii, plates 53 and 240. See also vol. i, p. 30.

(2) A MS., the ownership of which appears to be divided between Dr. Martin and M. V. Goloubew, of Paris, of about A.D. 1410, described as of the Herat school. Reproductions of pages will be found :—

(a) In Martin, op. cit., vol. ii, plate 240.

(b) In P. W. Schulz's *Die Persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei* (Leipzig : Hiersemann, 1914), plate 35.

(3) A MS. in Dr. Martin's collection dated A.D. 1436, of which a page is reproduced in Martin, op. cit., vol. ii, plate 53.

(4) A MS. in M. V. Goloubew's collection dated about the end of the fifteenth century A.D., and described as of the Samarqand school, of which a page is reproduced in Schulz, op. cit., plate 35. In this case the resemblance is less close.

Although there is admittedly a variation in the practice of the scribes there can be no doubt that in the case of our MS.

¹ A reproduction of a miniature from this MS. is to be found in Pavet de Courteille's *Mirāj Nāma* ; Paris, Leroux, 1888.

the illuminations were executed before the text, and have no reference to its contents. Indeed, it seems likely that they were executed by a different hand, for

(1) the speed with which the MS. was written, as shown by the dates in the colophons, seems to leave little time for preparing the illuminations, and

(2) on certain pages, e.g. 122^v and 123^r, a line of text is written actually on the miniature and not in the margin round it, an outrage unlikely to have been perpetrated by the artist himself.

The gilding of certain words in the text appears to have been done by the scribe himself.

However, whether or not the illuminator was the same as the scribe, he was a remarkable artist, and in particular he was a master of the difficult *technique* of illumination in gold.

The procedure was clearly as follows: The paper was first of all arranged in quires of eight folios, and elaborate frames were drawn on each page.

The frame is constructed of narrow lines with boundary-lines of black ink, the centre being filled with gold, or, occasionally, silver, which has now tarnished to a dull grey. The whole line is no more than half a millimetre broad.

First of all a rectangle was drawn about 194 by 119 millimetres. This is almost exactly the present size of the leaves, and in many cases this outer rectangle is wholly or partially cut away.

Next an inner frame was drawn to contain the text. The inner side of this frame, i.e. the side nearest the back of the book is the same as that of the outer frame, but the outer side, the top and the bottom are formed by two lines, about five millimetres apart parallel to the outer rectangle. This inner rectangle measures about 141 by 87 millimetres outside, and 130 by 81 millimetres inside. Single lines were then drawn,

(a) from the points where the outer line of the inner rectangle joins the outer rectangle, bisecting the angle so formed, to

the top and bottom lines of the outer rectangle respectively ;

(b) parallel to these two lines from the centre of the outer side of the inner rectangle to the outer rectangle.

The effect of two pages together, if the book is opened at any given place, is that of an inner rectangle bounded by double lines poised within an outer rectangle on the apices of four triangles based on the centres of the top, bottom and sides of an outer rectangle. The base of the triangles measures about 55 millimetres.

Apart from title-pages, which received special treatment, a frame of this kind lends itself to three alternative methods of treatment :—

(1) The whole of the space within the inner frame may be covered with a design, the triangles in the margin sometimes being decorated in harmony with the design ; or

(2) the centre space may be left free for the text, and the design confined to the margin, i.e. the space between the outer and the inner frame ; or,

(3) the spaces in the triangles and between the inner and outer lines of the inner frame may be decorated and the centre and the rest of the margin left blank.

The arrangement of illuminations within the quire is systematic, the number of double page illuminations in each quire varying from two to four. The commonest schemes of illumination are the following (the dots representing the leaves and the x's double page illuminations or the verso of the preceding and the recto of the following leaf) :—

. x . . . x . . . x . ; . . x . . x . . x . . and . . x x . .

A peculiarity of the MS. is that, as will appear below, the same design is used several times, sometimes with the same, and sometimes with different colouring.

Coming now to the colours used by the artist it will be convenient to refer separately to the outlines of the drawings, the backgrounds and the designs superimposed on the backgrounds.

The outlines are normally drawn in gold, sometimes in red or black ink, occasionally in silver.

Backgrounds are either in metal (gold or silver) or in colour (mauve, crimson, orange, brown, various shades of pink, and a much faded colour, which was probably originally green). It will be noticed that the choice of colours is peculiar, they might almost be described in modern phraseology as "lingerie tints". That the choice was deliberate and did not represent the full range of the artist's palette is shown by the fact that the geometric designs of gold lines on folios 87^v-88^r and 159^v-160^r are picked out with dots of blue and red. Another curious feature is that the colours are not laid on in flat washes but with a stippled effect, which makes them look as if they had been imperfectly ground.

The designs superimposed on the background are normally in colour, and not metal. Metal is, however, occasionally used for small *motifs* of conventional foliage, particularly when superimposed on a larger design.

In the case of folios 180 and 179, which appear to come from a different MS., the outline of the marginal decoration on the inner side of the two leaves is identical with that on folios 105^v and 106^r and the background is gold in both cases. On folio 179^r the design is uncoloured, but on folio 180^v the design is tinted green, blue, pink, and purple of shades not found elsewhere, and the colours are put on flat and not stippled, as if they had been prepared with a different medium from that used elsewhere.

We now come to the description of the principal types of illumination of the four classes referred to above.

A. Title pages. These are two :—

(1) Folio 159^v-160^r, the Muḥabbat Nāma. In this case a broad label of the usual type surrounded by a very delicate frame in black and blue ink with bands of gold and green, the centre being left free for the title, is set at the top of the page, and the whole of the rest of the page and of 160^r is decorated with a repetitive design of gold lines in bands. Each

band consists of a series of squares standing on their corners, the adjacent corners of each pair of squares being joined by a line. Bands consist alternatively of four squares and three *plus* two three-quarter squares, the squares of each band lying under the connecting lines of the band above and vice versa so that a blank space of zig-zag shape is left in which the text is written also in zig-zags. A small rosette of gold picked out with spots of red and blue is set in the middle of each square.

(2) Folio 173^v. *Qoshuqlar*. The label designed to contain the title is of similar type, but without the band of green. The title, however, is written above the label, which contains the first *qoshuq* (quatrain). The rest of the page is occupied by an elaborate "all-over" pattern of interlaced gold lines centred upon one complete and three half hexagons; six lines of text (three quatrains) meander round these lines. The next leaf, which presumably bore similar decorations, is lost. See Plate II.

B. Designs covering the centre panel. These are of three main classes: (1) geometrical, (2) free-hand repetitive designs, (3) pictorial representations more or less conventionalized.

(1) Geometrical designs. There are six varieties:—

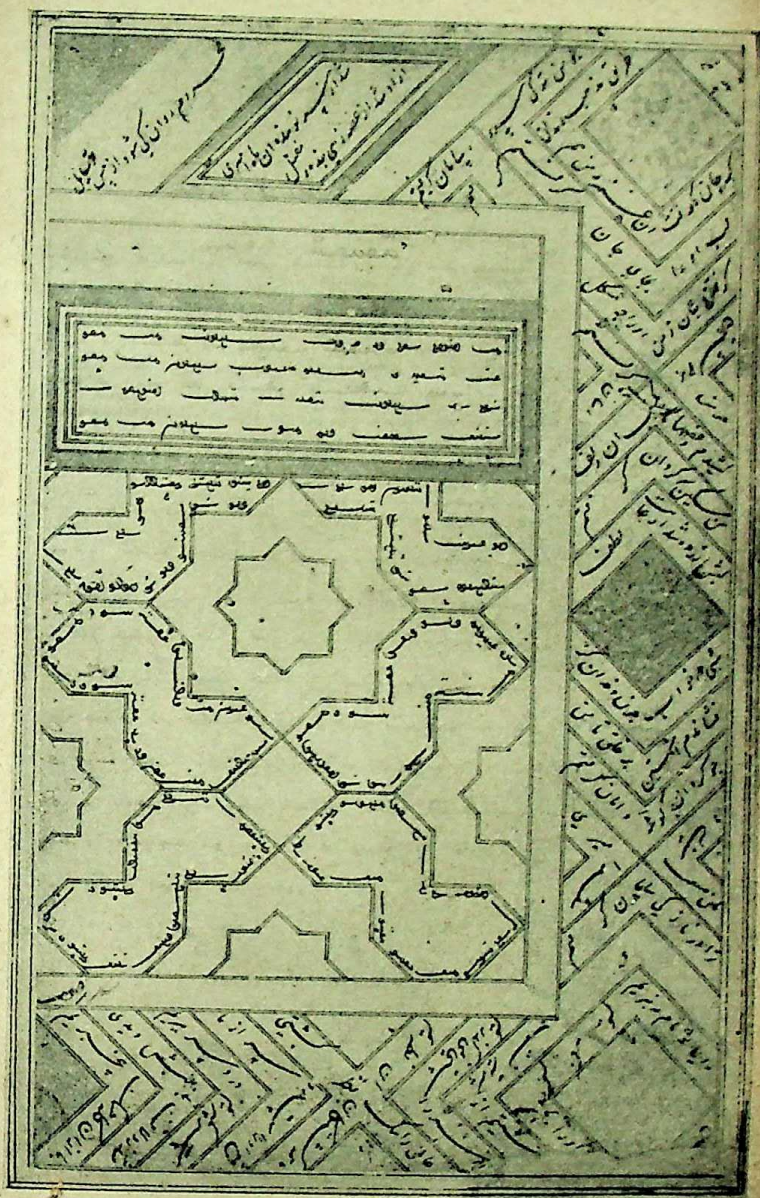
(a) A simple repetitive design of gold lines in bands, similar to those on A. (1) but based on linked hexagons (alternately three complete and two *plus* two three-quarter hexagons) instead of squares; folios 87^v–88^r.

(b) A similar but more open design of squares on their corners with connecting lines, with an intervening grille of diagonals parallel to the sides of the squares, eight complete squares arranged 2, 1, 2, 1, 2, with six half and four quarter-squares in the margin, the squares tinted contrasting colours and surmounted with gold *motifs*, the triangles in the margin similarly decorated; folios 167^v–168^r.

(c) A similar but more complicated repetitive design of eight-pointed stars with encircling lines, four complete and

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PLATE II.



Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 8193 ; folio 173v.

[To face p. 176.]

four half stars to the page, with a cross with pointed arms between each four stars, the stars, crosses and intervening bands being tinted with two contrasting colours and left uncoloured respectively, and the former surmounted with small *motifs* in both metals; folios 34^v-35^r and 38^v-39^r.

(d) A similar design of six-pointed stars (five complete and two half stars) with hexagons (eight complete and twelve half hexagons) between them; folios 47^v-48^r and 65^v-66^r.

(e) A central band of two complete and two half diamonds joined by lines with six zig-zag lines above and six below, parallel to the sides of the diamonds, the diamonds and the spaces between the zig-zag lines being tinted in contrasting colours; folios 16^v-17^r, 20^v-21^r, 101^v-102^r.

(f) A central design in a square on its corner of an Arabic phrase in " quadrangular Cufic " script of the type illustrated in Bresnier's *Cours pratique et theorique de Langue Arabe* (Alger, 1855), p. 154, surrounded by a network of lines in geometrical patterns, the spaces between them and the triangles in the margin being tinted in contrasting colours; folios 95^v-96^r and 163^v-164^r. [In the latter case the phrase is *علي* 'Ali four times repeated, in the former two different phrases which have so far resisted decipherment.]

(2) Free-hand repetitive designs. There are three varieties:—

(a) Symmetrical curling floriated foliage covering the whole field, two varieties, one on folios 44^v-45^r, the other on folios 81^v-82^r and 109^v-110^r.

(b) Symmetrical curling floriated foliage in one diamond-shaped mass in the centre with subsidiary masses in each corner, the edge of these being roughly parallel to the edges of the central design, three contrasting colours being used for the central mass, the corner masses and the background, two varieties very similar to one another, one on folios 50^v-51^r, 92^v-93^r, 121^v-122^r, and 133^v-134^r, the other on folios 69^v-70^r, 90^v-91^r, and 98^v-99^r.

(c) A most curious and interesting design of conventional foliage with human and animal heads springing from it, the background green, the outlines gold and the foliage and heads uncoloured. This seems to have been a favourite Timurid theme. Examples will be found in :—

(1) B.M. MS. Add. 27261, folio 10^b.

(2) MS. of about A.D. 1410, Martin, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, plate 240, upper row, Schulz, *op. cit.*, plate 35, bottom right-hand corner.

(3) MS. dated A.D. 1436, Martin, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, plate 53.

(4) MS. of end of fifteenth century A.D. Schulz, *op. cit.*, plate 35 (less close).

In the present case the design, which is identical in form on folios 14^v–15^r, is a single panel four times repeated, the lower two panels being inverted. In the inner corner of each panel is a human head of Sino-Mongol appearance, full face, and wearing a cap, cap to the centre ; next come two half human heads, with caps, full face (making four similar heads for the whole design) with two wings springing from under the chin, which is pointed to the centre ; next a wolf's head in profile, a bird's head in profile (cock or parrot ?) and a fish in profile, head to the centre ; next half a monster's head full face (the other half being cut off by the frame) a human head full face, and half a monster's head full face (making two complete faces for the whole design) ; next a wolf's head in profile, and a typical Chinese dragon's head, part profile part full face, both eyes being shown ; in the outer corner a human head with cap full face, chin to the centre. The triangles are coloured pink and decorated with gold scroll work. **See Plate III.**

(3) Pictorial representations. There are three principal varieties :—

(a) A highly conventionalized flower-pot in silhouette, two varieties, one decorated with two fishes in profile, head upwards on a metal background on folios 6^v–7^r and 22^v–23^r,



Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 8193; folio 14v.

[To face p. 108.

the other without this decoration on a plain background on folios 9^v-10^r.

(b) Several similar designs of which the central figure is a rose-bush with ten flowers on it :—

(i) A single rose-bush, folios 86^v-87^r (in the latter case two deer on a much smaller scale coloured mauve, are shown running up the trunk and five mauve or crimson birds sit in the branches.)

(ii) A rose-bush with a feathery plant at its foot, and two cypresses on a smaller scale beside it, folios 12^v-13^r.

(iii) A rose-bush between two cypresses with a feathery plant at the foot, folio 25^r.

(iv) An exactly similar design except that the centre piece is not a rose-bush, but a conventionalized tall brown tree (? a pine or cedar) with a straight trunk dividing at the top into three curling branches with a few needle-like leaves, folio 24^v.

(c) A highly conventionalized landscape, in the centre a bird's eye view of a hexagonal lake with a stream running through it, a meander pattern of Chinese appearance being repeated all over the surface. The subsidiary details vary :—

(i) Two cypresses and a conventional flower-pot, on the surface of the lake three gold ducks, folio 3^v.

(ii) The same but five gold fishes instead of the ducks, folio 4^r.

(iii) Three crimson shrubs and one faded green tree with a long trunk, on the lake two large white fish in profile, folio 178^v (the accompanying leaf is missing).

C. Designs covering the margin. The basis in all cases except one is conventional floriated foliage.

Two varieties of pure foliage occur. In one which appears on folios 27^v-28^r, 61^v-62^r, 73^v-74^r, 84^v-85^r, and 177^v (accompanying leaf missing) the triangles are coloured in contrast to the design, in the other on folios 105^v-106^r and 180^v-179^r (from the different MS.) the triangles are obliterated by the design. Another variety has bodies of birds in flight, growing from the foliage, a design which appears also on folio 406^r of B.M.

MS. Add. 27261, the triangles being coloured to contrast, folios 53^v-54^r and 113^v-114^r.

In the remaining variety the scroll work though reminiscent of foliage resembles rather a Chinese conventionalized cloud design, the triangles being coloured to contrast, folios 77^v-78^r, 117^v-118^r and 181^v-170^r. A similar design is found on folio 418^r of B.M. MS. Add. 27261, reproduced in Martin, op. cit., vol. ii, plate 239, bottom right-hand corner.

D. Decorations of the triangles and the margin of the inner frame only. The spaces in question are tinted and in the case of one pair of leaves adorned with a spray of conventional foliage in gold, folios 58^v-59^r, 111^v-112^r, 161^v-162^r.

The quire consisting of folios 76-83 is unique in that both sides of the two outer leaves, 76 and 83, are decorated with conventional sprays of foliage in gold in the triangles.

We now come to the text. The script is that variety of the " Uighur " script which appears to have been used in Persia (including Afghanistan) in the fifteenth century A.D. It is only a little less removed from the prototype than the South Russian-Anatolian (?) variety represented by the MS. of the *Makhzenu'l-Esrar* from which extracts with a facsimile were published by M. Pavet de Courteille (op. cit.) and the MS. of the *Hibatu'l-Ḥaqqā'iq* published in facsimile by Nejib Eff. Asim (Constantinople, 1334 Turkish Civil Era). It closely resembles the script of the Bodleian MS. of the *Bakhtiyār Nāma* and the Paris MS. of the *Mi'rāj Nama* and *Tezkere-i Evliyā* published by M. Pavet de Courteille (Paris, Leroux, 1882, and Imprimerie Nationale, 1889-90 respectively).

The actual hand is particularly clear, symmetrical, and, of its kind, calligraphic, but the alphabet is the most inconvenient ever tolerated by man. It contains no more than thirteen letters: three vowels-cum-semi-vowels (1) *a*, *e*; (2) *ï*, *i*, *y*; (3) *o*, *u*, *ö*, *ü*, *w*, and ten consonants, (4) *b*, *p*, *f*; (5) *ch*, *j*; (6) *t*, *d*, *dh*, *ṭ*, and *ḍ*; (7) *s*, *sh*, *th*, *z*, and *ẓ*; (8) *h*, *ḥ*, *kḥ*, *qḥ*, *q*, *ʿayn*; (9) *k*, *g*; (10) *l*; (11) *m*; (12) *n*; (13) *r*. In three

of these cases the confusion is purely gratuitous; two signs which originally represented *t* and *d* respectively are used indifferently for any letter in (6), two signs which originally represented *s* and *z* respectively are used indifferently for any letter in (7) and the diacritical marks which were originally used to distinguish *q* from *kh* and *gh* are here used nearly always over the medial or final letter representing this group and hardly ever over the initial. To add to our difficulties it is often hard to distinguish between (i) initial (1) and initial (8), (ii) final (9) and final (13), (iii) medial (7) and an undotted medial (8) and (iv) medial (6), medial *wa/we* and medial *un/ün*. On the other hand we do get some help. *Sh* is nearly always distinguished by two subscript dots, and *h*, *h*, *kh*, and *ayn* are frequently and *gh* (in Arabic words only) occasionally distinguished by writing the Arabic letters *س*, *ح*, *خ*, *ع*, and *غ* respectively under the character representing them. Even with this intermittent help, however, conundrums constantly occur. It is not easy to recognize *zulf* in a word which at first sight looks like *sulb*, nor *kāfir* in a word which might just as well be *kabīr*. Professor Barthold himself was so disconcerted by the script that he read *Bāqīr* for *faqīr* and failed to recognize the town of Yezd in "Yast (?)". I cannot therefore guarantee that in the texts transcribed below I have always made the right guess. In some cases, e.g. as between the Persian words *pas* and *bāz* only personal preference, or a second text in Arabic characters, can decide.

In order to darken counsel as little as possible, I have generally spelt all Arabic and Persian words with full diacritical marks, including those over long vowels. In the case of pure Turkish words I have been in considerable doubt whether to use the voiced consonants *d*, *g*, *b*, *q*, etc., or the unvoiced *t*, *k*, *p*, *gh*, etc., particularly at the beginning of words, since we do not know to what extent these consonants had become voiced in the fifteenth century. In general I have attempted to follow the practice of the British Museum MS. Add. 7914 (dated A.H. 914 = A.D. 1508-9) referred to below, as this seems

likely to be the best guide ; but that MS. is itself shaky in distinguishing between *b* and *p* and *j* and ch, and cannot distinguish between *g* and *k*.

Similarly I have been in great doubt as to the extent to which "soft" or "modified" vowels should be introduced into Arabic and Persian words. As the Dative of دنیا is دنیاکا we may be sure that it was pronounced *dunye*, perhaps even *dünnye* ; but the form دشمنلیق shows that دشمن was pronounced *dushman* not *düşmen*. I cannot, however, I fear hope to be entirely consistent since the practice of the period was probably fundamentally arbitrary and inconsistent. I have consistently refrained from using the "hard" Turkish *ı* in non-Turkish words, other than those containing a "hard" guttural, except in the suffixes.

It should perhaps be remarked that the practice of writing *ö/ü* in the first syllables of words as *oi/ui*, which prevailed in the earlier period in Chinese Turkestan, and still intermittently survived in that area as late as the fourteenth century A.D., is entirely unknown in our MS.

In prose passages the text is written sixteen lines to the page, in verse generally eighteen half-couplets to the page. These figures do not, of course, hold for all the illuminated pages.

So much for the script, we now come to the contents of the texts.

There are three dated colophons in the MS., as follows :—
Folio 129^v, l. 5.

Tamām boldī Sirāju'l-Qulūb kitābī. Qutluḡ bolsun. Tī-rikkh [i.e. *tārīkh*] *sekiz yüz otuz bishde, Chīchqan yıl Rajab ayınīng yigirmi toquzida, Yezd shahrıda Manşūr Bakhshī bitidi.*¹

"Here ends the book *Sirāju'l-Qulūb*. May it be auspicious. *Manşūr Bakhshī* wrote it in the town of *Yezd* on the 29th

¹ The form is curious. Perhaps *bititi* "caused to be written" should be read.

of Rajab, A.H. 835, Mouse Year [= 29th November, A.D. 1431]."

Folio 135^v, l. 8.

Tamām boldi Mathalā kitābī. Tīrīkh sekiz yüz otuz bishde, Chīchqan yil, Sha'ban ayīnīng törtide Yezd shahrīda Mīr Jalāl Dīnning suhbatında bu faqīr Manşūr Bakhshī bitidi.

Here ends the book *Mathalā* ("For example"). This poor *Manşūr Bakhshī*, of the entourage of *Mīr Jalāl[u'd-] Dīn*, wrote it on the 4th of *Sha'ban* A.H. 835, Mouse Year [= 4th December, A.D. 1431].

Folio 178^r, l. 13.

Tamām boldi Muḥabbat Nāma kitābī. Qutluḡ bolsun. Tīrīkh sekiz yüz otuz bishde, Chīchqan yil, Rajab ayīnīng altısında Yezd shahrīda Mīr Jalāl Dīn buyurḡan üçün bu faqīr Manşūr Bakhshī bitidi.

"Here ends the book *Muḥabbat Nāma*. May it be auspicious! This poor *Manşūr Bakhshī* wrote it on the 6th of *Rajab* A.H. 835, Mouse Year [= 6th November, A.D. 1431] in the town of *Yezd* at the order of *Mīr Jalāl[u'd-] Dīn*."

It will be observed that the last colophon is dated about three weeks before the first, and it is on this fact that the main outline of the rearrangement of the *disjecta membra* of the MS. set out above is based.

The retention in the date of the year of the old Turkish twelve-year cycle is to be noted.

I regret that I have found no further information about the two personages mentioned in this colophon. If his own client can find no higher title for him than "Mīr", *Jalāl[u'd-] Dīn* is not likely to have been very important. *Manşūr* was a bit of a poet and two quite good poems by him, transcribed from this MS., will be found in the Appendix. Both names were very common at this period.

As these colophons indicate, we have a MS. of distinctly mixed contents. With folio 174, the earliest surviving folio of the MS., we are plunged into the middle of a series of fifty moral maxims, the earliest one surviving being the eighth.

The moral level, however, cannot be described as particularly exalted, we commence :—

" 8th. The work which is rightly yours do well, in order that God, exalted be He, may make your work good among men.

9th. Be chaste (*parhūzgār*) that you may be respected ('*azīz*') . . . and so on.

This section is followed by a few detached maxims of the Prophet on sumptuary questions and other similar matters. The whole ends on folio 159a with the colophon :—*Kātibu'l-faḡīr Maṇṣūr Bakḥshī*.

Folio 159^v is the title-page, described above, of the Muḥabbat Nāma. The text is, with the exception of the gap noted below, complete and covers the following folios : 159^v, 160, after which two folios containing approximately 36 couplets are missing, 161–169, 181, 171, and 178^r, ending with the colophon quoted above. Another text of this work by *Khorezmi* written in a clear *nasta'liq* hand and dated A.H. 916 is one of the items of B.M. MS. Add. 7914 and it is described at some length in Rieu's *Catalogue of Turkish MSS. in the B.M.*, page 290. The present text is very definitely superior to that of the later MS. In particular it omits the fourth *Nāma* in the latter MS. which is clearly spurious as it is in Persian (while the whole point of the work is that the author wrote it in response to his patron's request for a poetical composition in that patron's own Turkish dialect), and raises the number of *Nāmas* to eleven as against the number ten mentioned in the Introduction. It also omits the Persian *Mathnawī* at the end. Elsewhere single couplets are omitted and other variant readings occur. One variant of some interest is in the first couplet of the poet's panegyric of his patron. Our MS. (folio 161^v, ll. 4 and 5) reads :—

Aya arslan yūrekliḡ kḥan uruḡhī.

Kichik yashdīn uluḡhlarnāḡ uluḡhī.

Add. 7914 (folio 293^v, l. 7) reads :—

Zehi arslan yūrek Qongrat uruḡhī, etc.

Our MS. no doubt preserves the original reading, *arslan yürek* is hardly grammatical; *Qongrat* was probably introduced at a time when the identity of the Muḥammad Khoja Beg addressed was beginning to be forgotten and a tribal name had to be inserted to give the necessary clue.

The folio following 178 and containing the counterpart of the miniature on the *verso* of that folio is lost, but it seems probable that there next followed a short anthology of which folios 172, 182, 177, 175, and 173 are surviving leaves. Folios 172 and 182 are consecutive and as they are both on pink paper it seems likely that they formed the centre of a quire. Folio 173, as its *recto* bears the text of a *ghazal* while its *verso* bears the title and commencement of a collection of *qoshuqs* (*quatrains*) is likely to have followed the other leaves. The contents of these leaves which are reproduced in the Appendix are as follows:—

(a) a *ghazal* and *bait* by Manşūr Bakhshī and the latter part of a third poem by him.

(b) three and a half *ghazals* by Luṭfi.

(c) two *ghazals* by Qambar *oghlu*.

(d) one *ghazal* each by Qāsim and Jauharī.

(e) four *quatrains* of the type called *qoshuq*.

Manşūr Bakhshī is, of course, the scribe of our MS.

Luṭfi is a poet of whom something is known. An incomplete copy of his *Dīvān* is another of the items contained in B.M. MS. Add. 7914, and a notice of him will be found in Rieu's Catalogue, p. 286. As he was personally known to Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī he must have been alive after A.H. 844, and the present MS. was therefore written in his lifetime. The three complete poems, but not, unfortunately, the incomplete one, appear also in Add. 7914, and, as is shown by the collation in the Appendix, there are substantial divergences between the two texts.

I regret that I am not in a position to give any information regarding the other three poets mentioned. Their names do

not appear in Rieu's Catalogue, and time did not permit me to make my way into the uncharted seas of Nawā'ī's *Majālisu'n-Nafā'is* where the information may be forthcoming.

The *Qoshuqs* are of great interest. As far as I am aware, these are the only specimens surviving, but my researches have admittedly been incomplete and others may be known.

The word *qoshuq* is translated by Pavet de Courteille [*Dictionnaire Turc-Oriental*: Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1870, p. 432] "a sort of poetic composition or drinking song sung according to the principles of the *orghushtek*". He quotes three passages containing the word, two from the *Abushqa* and one from the *Bābur-Nāma*. One describes someone as not understanding the metre of the *tuyuq* or even of the *qoshuq*. The same quotation is given by Radloff [Opyt ii, 640].

The *tuyuq* or *tuyugh* was a quatrain verse-form based on the old Turkish system of *parmaq hisābi*, i.e. counting the syllables but disregarding the quality of vowels. Twenty *tuyughs* written by Qaḍi Burhānu'd-Dīn survive, see Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry* [London, Luzac and Co., 1900], vol. i, p. 211.

Pavet de Courteille [op. cit., p. 55, s.v. *orghushtek*] quotes a passage stating that the *qoshuq* metre was *ramal murabba' mahdhūf* and giving a couplet in that metre, a catalectic tetrameter of the measure — — — —. As will be seen from the Appendix, however, our *qoshuqs* are trimeters, and appear to be rather of the "*parmaq hisābi*" nature than strictly metrical.

The next part of the MS. in order of date is folios 2-129. The colophon on folio 129^v, quoted above, gives the name as Sirāju'l-Qulūb, "The Lamp of Hearts," but mentions no author's name. The work was no doubt translated from a foreign language, presumably Persian, possibly by Mansur Bakhshī himself.

It is a kind of catechism, dealing with various points of Moslem theology and eschatology. Each section is introduced by a short question, to which a reply, generally lengthy, is

given. The words *suwāl* and *jawāb* ("Question" and "Answer") are gilded, and so too are some names of prophets, holy personages, etc. The name of God *ḥaqq* (or *tengri*) *ta'ālā* is not gilded, but is normally put at the commencement of a new line, the remainder of the preceding line being left blank or filled by one, or two, ornamental flourishes.

As the beginning of the work is lost, the identity of the questioners (there was more than one since they say "tell us") cannot be determined. The respondent is Muḥammad himself (see folio 104^r, l. 14, where a reply begins "The Prophet peace be upon Him, said . . .").

The title *Sirāju'l-Qulūb* is not uncommon. One, in the form of a catechism, is mentioned by Haji *Khalfa*, see Fluegel's edition (London, Oriental Translation Fund, 1842) vol. iii, p. 588), *سراج القلوب فارسی علی طریق الجواب والسؤال*. Another, or possibly the same work, although the opening words are different, is contained in B.M. MSS. Or. 1231 and Add. 23,581, see Rieu's Persian Catalogue, p. 17, where reference is made to a similar work, with a different commencement, at Vienna, see Fluegel, Vienna Catalogue, vol. iii, p. 453.

The author of the work represented by the two B.M. MSS., of which Or. 1231 is an ancient copy dated A.H. 925 (A.D. 1519), is given in the former MS. as Imām Abū Mānşūr Sa'id ibn Muhammadi'l-Qaṭṭānu'l-Ghaznawī and in the latter as Imām Abū Naşr ibn Sa'd ibn Muḥammad. The title *Ghaznawī* indicates a connexion with the Turkish dynasty of *Ghazna*, and it is possible, indeed probable, that this *Sirāju'l-Qulūb* formed the foundation of our work. The order of sections is more or less the same and the contents of the various sections are more or less identical, but the translation is by no means close or exact and in particular the frequent Arabic quotations in the Persian text are completely omitted in the Turkish version.

The following is a summary of the contents with references to the Persian text of Or. 1231, here designated P.; in the first

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two or three cases I have quoted the question in full, so as to give an idea of the general form.

Folio 2^r, l. 1-14. The end of a description of the Throne of God = P. 10^r middle—10^v, l. 1.

Folio 2^r, l. 15. " Tell us how many Prophets (*payghambar*) God created ; how many were Apostles (*mursal*), and how many books came down from heaven to the Prophets " = P. 10^v, l. 2.

Folio 4^v, l. 2. " Tell us who Azrayil is." The reply includes an extract from the Prophet's account of his journey to Heaven = P. 11^v, l. 3.

Folio 5^v, l. 14. " Tell us who Munkar and Nakir are." The reply includes an account of the interrogation of the dead = P. 12^v, l. 2.

Folio 11^r, l. 15. An account of the Baitu'l-Ma'mūr = P. 14^v, l. 7.

Folio 13^v, l. 6. An account of Jabal Qāf = P. 15^v, l. 4.

Folio 16^r, l. 8. Şur and Asrafil = P. 19^r, l. 1.

Folio 18^v, l. 2. The end of the world = P. 16^r, l. 12.

(Note that these two sections are in reverse order.)

Folio 33^v, k l. 3. The fastenings of the door of heaven and the lock (*qufl*), P. 20^r, l. 12.

Folio 33^v, l. 12. The key of heaven = P. 20^v, l. 5.

Folio 31^r, l. 2. The Prophet Yūnus = P. 20^v, l. 9.

Folio 28^v, l. 2. The destruction of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea = P. 26^r, l. 7.

The order of P. is slightly different here. The end of this story is lost.

Folio 32 starts near the beginning of the story of Suleimān. 32^r, l. 1 = P. 28^r, l. 3 ; the question is put in P. 27^v, last line.

Folio 37^r, l. 6. The five beings who had no father or mother, but walked on the earth = P. 21^v, l. 2. The stories are those of (1) Adam and Eve (folio 37^r, l. 7) ; (2) the Prophet Şālih's camel (folio 39^r, l. 5) ; (3) the ram which Gabriel gave to the Prophet Isma'il to be sacrificed in his place (folio 40^r, l. 8) ;

and (4) Moses' rod which became a serpent. The end of (3) and beginning of (4) are lost.

Folio 43^r, l. 5. A pious interpretation of the cries of various birds = P. 30^r, l. 9.

Folio 44^r, l. 9. The Baitu'l-Ma'mūr again = P. 30^v, l. 4.

Folio 46^v, l. 4. The highest building in the world (i.e. the one built for Pharaoh by Haman !) = P. 31^r, l. 6.

Folio 48^v, l. 4. The table sent down to the Prophet 'Isā = P. 31^v, l. 7.

Folio 54^v, l. 4. The visit of Shaddād ibn 'Ad, while still alive, to Paradise and Hell. Apparently not in P., the end is lost.

Folio 58^r commences in the middle of the story of the Prophet Jirjis which starts at P. 35^r, l. 2.

Folio 72^v, l. 9. The Prophet 'Uzair (the father 40 years old, with a black beard, and the son 120 years old with a white beard) = P. 39^v, l. 10.

Folio 75^v, l. 7. Noah's flood and the fate of the sea on the Day of Resurrection = P. 33^v, l. 7.

Folio 78^r, l. 13. Dhū'l-Kifl. Mentioned in P.'s table of contents, 2^r, l. 7, but apparently omitted from the text.

Folio 83^v, l. 6. Speech of the Prophet 'Isā in his mother's womb. Not in P. ?

Folio 84^r, l. 3. The rock which Moses struck = P. folio 49^r, l. 5.

Folio 86^r, l. 1. The Aṣḥābu'r-Rass = P. 51^r, l. 4.

Folio 91^v, l. 8. The Aṣḥābu Ukhdūd = P. 53^v, l. 3.

Folio 100^r, l. 1. The Prophet Ayyub. Not in P. ?

Folio 104^r, l. 10. Suleimān's hidden sepulchre and Bulūqiyā = P. 60^v, l. 10. This is the last section both in our MS. and in P.

The Sirāju'l-Qulūb ends on folio 129^v, the last folio of a quire, with the colophon quoted above.

Folio 130 begins most abruptly but appears to be the beginning of the next work which is called the Mathalā Kitābī, "the Book of For Example." It starts: "Do no

evil, for God, exalted be He, keeps you," and then plunges into a series of sentences each of identical form. All, except the first, begin with the word *mathalā* "for example" in gold and continue "if a man says . . . he is an infidel (*kāfir*)."

It ends on folio 135^v with the colophon quoted above.

Folio 136^r is completely blank except for the frame, and the late Persian text.

Folio 136^v is not illuminated, but the whole of the text inscribed on it is in gold and is unusually large script. Were it not for the fact that it is undoubtedly the last and not the first page of a quire, folio 136 might have been regarded as the commencement of the MS. The text begins:—

Fol. 136^v. ¹ *Al ḥamdu lillāhi rabbī'l 'ālamīn* ² *us-salātu us-salāmu 'alā* ³ *khairi khalqihī Muḥammadin* ⁴ *wa ālihi ajmi'in.* ⁵ *Bilgil kim bir neche* ⁶ *hikāyatlar Raḥatul-Qulūb* ⁷ *kitābīdīn ihtiyār* ⁸ *qilip bitidir*, and continues on the following pages.

The introduction to this section of the MS. may be translated as follows:—

"In the name of God etc. Know that certain stories selected from the book entitled Raḥatu'l Qulūb are written here; also certain stories of prophets and sages, the questions put to the Prophet, upon Him be peace, by the king of the Yemen who came to him, and a few profitable words which the daughter of the King of China obtained by inquiry from the son of the King of the West have been collected and are written here in order that they may be profitable to those who read them. May it be that by the grace of God, exalted be He!, the book may be written to its end, if God, exalted be He!, pleases."

It will be seen, therefore, that this section of the MS. is a medley. It begins with the last item on the list:—

"The maiden said 'Who first in the world spilt innocent blood?' The youth said, 'The first man in the world who spilt innocent blood was Qābil, who killed Ḥābil, and their story is as follows . . .'"

Folio 141^r, l. 8. The story of the Prophet Ṣāliḥ's camel.

Folio 144^r, l. 15. " The maiden said ' What are the two dead things which may be eaten (*ḥalal turur*) ? ' The prince said, ' One is the fish, the other is the locust (*chekürtke*). ' "

A number of shorter questions follow, some in the nature of riddles rather than religious questions.

Folio 145^v, l. 1. An anecdote of Loqman the sage.

Folio 146^r, l. 1. " The Companion named Wahb ibn Munabih, may God be satisfied with him, says, ' In the Old Testament I found twenty sayings which are wise. ' " The twenty are quoted.

Folio 147^r, l. 3. " Again the Prophet, peace be upon Him, says ' There are twenty things which, if anyone does them, alleviate poverty, distress and misery ' . . . "

Folio 148^r, l. 1. " The rules for eating food. "

Folio 149^v, l. 9. " Aristotle the sage says that four things will make the eyes bright . . . and so on. "

Folio 150^r, l. 6. " Again a Companion named Khālid Walid relates that one of the kings of the people of the Yemen came into the presence of the Prophet, peace be upon Him, and said ' Oh Prophet of God, I have come to ask you a few questions and to learn '. The Prophet, peace be upon Him, said ' Very good '. That person said ' Oh Prophet of God, I seek to be wiser than the people '. The Prophet, peace be upon Him, said ' Fear God ' . . . ", and so on.

Folio 153^v, l. 17. " A Companion named ' Āmir-i Majnūn (?) asked the Commander of the Faithful ' Ali ' Who is wise (*sirek*) ? ' . . . "

Folio 155^v, l. 2. " Again, they asked a sage named Yahyā-i Mu'āḍ-i Rāzi, may the mercy of God be upon him . . . " and so the MS. ends in the middle of a story.

There remain to be described only folios 179 and 180, which belong to a work not represented elsewhere in the MS. The script is the same, and the illuminations are clearly by the same hand, since the outline of the design which decorates the margins of one side of each leaf is identical with the

outline of the designs on folios 105^v-106^r ; the colour scheme, however, is, as stated above, different, and it is therefore probable that the leaves belong to a different book.

The text is continuous, but the two leaves in their present position are reversed, i.e. folio 180 precedes folio 179. The principal text is part of a *Mi'rāj Nāma* which presents extraordinary coincidences with and divergencies from the text printed by Pavet de Courteille in his edition of the Paris "Uighur" MS. [*Mirādī-Nāmah*, Paris, Leroux, 1882]. The surviving fragment commences in the middle of p. ٢٨, l. 7, of Pavet de Courteille's text with the description of the Prophet's visit to the lake of *Kauthar* [*Kevser*]. The first two sentences are almost word for word the same, the next contains the same sense in rather different words, and the next is identical. Our text then skips out a page and a half of the Paris text, rejoins it for a short time, and then departs once more and so on. The explanation of these phenomena is perhaps to be found in the fact that the four persons sitting round *Kauthar* distributing the water are stated in our text to be *Muḥammad*, 'Ali, Ḥasan, and Ḥusain, while in the Paris text they are stated to be *Abu Bakr*, *Omar*, *Osman*, and 'Ali ; in other words our text is Shi'i, while the Paris text is Sunni.

As the Prophet could hardly have visited *Kauthar* and found himself sitting beside it, the assumption is that the Sunni version is the original one.

The text in the margin of the two unilluminated pages is even more interesting, as it belongs to a class of text hitherto unknown in "Uighur" script. It is part of a series of Arabic proverbs in gold, each proverb being followed by a paraphrase in Persian prose, and a Persian distich enlarging upon the theme. As may be imagined the decipherment of Arabic and Persian texts in this script was extremely difficult and I am much obliged to Mr. Fulton of the British Museum for his assistance. The full text will be found in the Appendix.

This article is already too long and there is therefore no

space to enlarge further on the many interesting points raised by this MS. I should, however, like to make one or two observations on the dialect employed. In so far as the texts are native to the Yezd district and not imported from Turkistan (as the Muḥabbat Nāma presumably was) they have a fair claim to represent the fifteenth century ancestor of the Azerbaijani dialect. The shibboleths which I have noticed point, as might be expected, to relationship with Kashgari's Ghuzz group rather than his Türki group. "White," for instance, is *aq* not *ürüng*; but the morphology is primitive rather than modern. Note, for instance, such forms as *turur*, *tileben*, *aytmaq* "to say", the future in *ghay*, *gey* and the imperative in *ghil*, *gil*.

The poems of Qambar ogli contain one or two distinctively "Western" forms like *qilan* (for *qılghan*), *menüm* (for *mening*) and the verb *eylemek*.

Some individual words are of particular interest. For instance *sirek* "wise" is quoted by Radloff [Opyt iv, 702] from the Baraba dialect only, and *chekürtke* "locust" corresponds neither to Kashgari's *chekürke* nor to Osmanli *chegirge*. No doubt a careful study would disclose many other points of interest.

I should not like to close this paper without expressing to Dr. Barnett and Mr. Edwards of the British Museum my gratitude for the many kindnesses which I received from them in the course of my studies on the MS.

APPENDIX

(a) The shorter poems

Folio 172^r, l. 1.

Lutfi

*Ay laṭāfat bostānī ichre serw-i khosh khirām,
 Tapti rukhsarīng gülündin ḥusn-i bāgh-i ihtirām.
 Ay yüziüngni küнге okhshatsam, muwajjahdur dalil;
 Ab-i ḥaywān disem irningni, irür mā lā kalam.
 Bolsa düzakhta khayāling, tangha köymeklik halāl;
 Bolmasa jannatta yādīng, jāngha āsāyish ḥarām.*

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Zar waraq teg bolmisham simin saqaqing shauqidin,
 Korki ne zard-u nizār itti meni saudāyī kham.
 Wa'd-duhā wa'l-layl oqurmen yüz-ü zulfungni körüp
 Kechti 'umrum barcha-u wardim irür bu subh-u sham.
 Garchi mahrum dur raqibing haqqdin ozmazmen umid,
 Birdi kafirning muradin birmegeymü bizge kām ;
 İtlaringiz birle boldi Lutfi yārim ishine,
 Jān qadamlari fidāsi qilsalar ishni tamām.

Apparatus Criticus. Or. 7914 has this *ghazal* at folio 202^r lines 11 following. The order here is 1, 2, 4, x, 3, 6, 5., v. 7 is absent, x is as follows :—

Qāmatīng tōbī nihāli dur labbing Kauthar suyu
 Yüzüing ol hūr-i bihišti tutti bu 'ālī maqām.

The following variants occur :

1. 2. gülindin for gülündin.
 1. 4. aghzīngni (?) for irīngni.
 1. 5. tenge for tangha.
 1. 9. zulf-u nūrungni for yüz-ü zulfungni.
 1. 10. Lutfi 'umrī-u wardi for 'umrum barcha-u wardim.
- Folio 172^r, l. 16.

Lutfi

Ay āyat-i rahmat yüzüingüz shānīda nāzil
 Bolghay qacharing birle qachan mihr muqbil.
 Sizdin kerek ökrense parī ādamīlīgnü
 Yusuf daghī ta'tim kerek alsa shamāyil.
 Yalghuz men imezmen hausing bile giriftār
 Husnunggha irür hūr-u malik jān bile māyil.
 Hārūt közüing sihrini kördi khajil oldi,
 Andin yashunub ikhtiyār itti jah-i Bābil.
 Ol sach mu turur subha yaqin yākhōd uzun ton
 Yā ghālīyadin dil-ü köngüllerge salāsīl ?
 Jān muhafī sipāra bolur gayghuda her dam
 Haikal iligi boynuma tabuldi hamāyil.
 Hījringde tiler Lutfi qulung öz ajalīnī
 Sansiz kechüren 'umurdin ay dostnī hāşil.

Apparatus Criticus. Or. 7914 has this *ghazal* at folio 199^r lines 4 following in the order 1, 2, 4, 3, 5, 6, 7.

1. 6. turur for irür.
1. 9. dur for turur.
1. 11. jān omitted.

- l. 12. *boynuna* for *boynuma*.
 l. 13. reads *Hijringde tiler her dam ajal Lutfi-yi meskin*.
 l. 14. *sinsiz* for *sansiz*.

Folio 172^v, l. 13.

Lutfi sözi

Sening üsrük közungge ne khabar bar ?
Kim andin 'aql-u jän-gha küp khatar bar.
Munajjim qash-u közung körgech aytur
Kim oshbu ay bashında fitnalar bar.
Qashim köz bahri üzre köprüküng dur.

Folio 182^r, l. 1.

Senge her neche kim mundin gudhar bar.
Qiran qildi közüng ay teg yüzüngde
Qiran dur anda ari kim nazar bar.
Qada kelgende Lutfi öz halakin
Tiler alningda kami bu qadar bar.

Apparatus Criticus. Or. 7914 has this *ghazal* at folio 175^v lines 3 and following in the order 1, 3, 2, 4, 5.

- Line 5 reads *Yolungda qash irür köz bahrina pul*.
 l. 8 *kim ari* for *ari kim*.
 l. 9. *kilgende* for *kelgende*.
 l. 10. *qasinda* for *alningda*.

Folio 182^r, l. 6.

Qambar oghli

Kök ichinde sizleyin bir sauk-i dilber bolmaghay,
Sachi sumbul yüzi gül qaddi senüber bolmaghay.
Chin-u Machin-u Qitayda bolmaghay manandingiz.
Sizleyin bir qaddi sarkash zulfı jambar bolmaghay.
Ghamza-yi qhammajingiz (?) teg tideyi nargis imez,
T[ur]ra-yi tarraringiz (?) teg mushk-u 'anbar bolmaghay.
Yanmaghaymen 'ishqingizdin gar meni yantursalar.
Khaira barghanlar 'ajab kim ahl-i Khaibar bolmaghay.
Suratıng wasfin qilanlar körmegen dür husnungi.
Sizge okhshish raudada bir hür-i paikar bolmaghay.
Teki tekrär eyledim khub suratıng majmü'asin
Khätirında mundin artuq nirse az bar bolmaghay.

Folio 182^v, l. 1.

Gar sening terking gılursam, ay dilaramum menüm,
Pas mening adim chiqanda Ibn-i Qambar bolmaghay.

Qambar oghli

Dilbarā zenzūr-i zulfung shāna qılding ; qılmaghül !
 Sad hazārān 'āqilī fitna qılding ; qılmaghül !
 Chīn köngül shahrīn musakkkhar qılding ; ay Türk-i khatā (?)¹
Khüttayī ma'mūrumī wayrāna qılding ; qılmaghül !
 Gīj-u (?) bahrayn oldī chashmīm, khānī dildin mauj orar,
 Qatra qatra ashkümi dur-dāna qılding ; qılmaghül !
Ashnā qılding mence 'ishq-i haqīqinī majā[r (?)],
 'Aqlm-i yekpāragī paykāna qılding ; qılmaghül !
 Bī tahashshī jān-i may nūsh eyleding akhayār ile,
 Garchi sen bu shifānī rindāna qılding ; qılmaghül !
Sham-i rukhsāring qatında yüz tümen parvāna bar,
 Men da'if-i yanghuchī parvāna qılding ; qılmaghül .
 Qambar oghlīn bulbul-i dīl qasda taksar ayleding,
 Gül yüzüngde sumbulī dardāna qılding ; qılmaghül !

Fol. 177^r.

Qambar oghli

Te kim ² ol serw-i sakī sumbulnī gül bosh eyledi,
 Sad hazārān bulbulī gulshān madhūsh eyledi.
 Ghayrat ildürmen ki sahhār (?) ne ichün öpti labblarīn,
 Baghrumīng qanī mayī qumqāna teg josh eyledi.
 Her niche faryād idermen yād olur yād eylemez,
 Dilbar-i paymān-shikan 'ahdīn farāmūsh eyledi.
 Yanmīsham bashdīn ayagqa sham' teg ichi otīna,
 Bilmezim (?) bu 'ishq otīn gaydīn mence tosh eyledi.
 Qasd-i jānīm qıldī dilbar nāwak-i mīchken (?) bile,
 Niche-kim nīsh ordī ol bu qasdā dīl nūsh eyledi.
 Yārumung aqdām qashīnda māh-i nau kördi felek,
 Shol sababdīn dur hilāl-i halqa dar gūsh eyledi.
 Bulbul ayru tūshse güldin, lāl olur hich sözlemez ;
 Qambar oghlīn yār firāqī bile ³ khāmūsh eyledi.

Jauharī

Qasdā könglīm ol sheker irnīn tileb jān tarta dur.
 Arsuluq bīchāranī yā rizq yā qan tarta dur.

Fol. 177^v.

Dünyede men dur men-u (?) yalghuz köngül wāy anī ham.
 Zulfī wu közi qashī her birī bir yan tarta dur.

¹ The edge of this folio is clipped and the last letter of this and other lines is partly or entirely lost.

² The first letter of this and some other lines is lost.

³ Text reads *bayle*, presumably in error.

Khūsh qashīnīng yasīnī kirbik oqī birle kōzi
Garchi ūsrūk tür körüngni yanglu esen tarta dur.
Te khayālī, keldi mihmān kōz essiz mihmānīgha,
Gāh durr-i 'Ummān-u gāh la'l-i Badakhshān tarta dur.
Ay kishi tarttı madā'in (sic) dilbarīnīng alnīda
Hich neme lāyīq yoghūdīn Jauharī jān tarta dur.

Lutfi

Ghamzangiz khūnī wu her dam kōnglüm ol yan tarta dur.
Barmasam qashīn chun meni qan tarta dur.
Tat kōzungdīn ki dīngha (?) niche yüz orsam meni,
Kufr zar-i zulmīle ol ne musulman tarta dur.
Khāk-i pāy-i kim anga zulfi teger küp ihtirām,
Yā meni topraq yā rīzq-i parīshān tarta dur.
Alnīda jān tarta durmen, te meger tūshgei qabūl
Hich nazar qılmaz bu miskīn zar-i kim jān tarta dur.
Qashlarī yasīn qolaqqa yitküre tartar kōzi.

Fol. 175^r.

Manşūr Bakhshī sözi

Ay khudāy-i lam yazal, ay pādshāh-i lā yazāl,
Barcha 'ālamnīng khudāwandī irürsen bī-zawāl.
Mithl-u mānandīng senīng yoqtur, yana bolghusī yoq.
Kimse okhshamaz senge perverdigār-i bī-mithāl.
Mülketiinge yoq zawāl, ay hayy-u qayyūm-u āhād,
Khālīqu'l 'arsh-u samāwāt, ay kerīm-i bā-kamāl.
Yā ghıyāth-al mustaghīthīn, barchagha faryād rās,
'Alimu'l asrār-i 'ālam, yā 'alim-i dhū'l jalāl,
Qudratīng birle yarattīng 'arsh-u kürsī wu galam.
Hikmetiingnīng ökmīne yitmek turur 'aql-u khayāl.
Jinn-u ins-u wahsh-u tayr-u mūr-u mākī rīzqīnī
Yetkünersen jumlagha qudrat bile bī qıl-u qāl.
Kim ki ichti rahmatīng daryāsīdīn bir jur'ayī,
Barcha 'ālamdīn munazzah boldī wu boldī zulāl.
Kim fanā boldī muhabbat bahrīna, jāndīn kechib
Wasıtiyat mülkide bāqī bolup taptī nawāl.
Kimge kim qıldīng nazar, hırd-u hawādīn boldi şāf,

Fol. 175^v.

Dünye-din kechdi, körünmez közige māl-u manāl.
Mülk-ü māl aulād-u qatundīn munazzah qıl köngül,
Chün hıjāb irmish senge haqq yolīda ahl-u 'ayāl.

*Mashivallahdîn (?) köngül mülkini khālī qılmağhan,
 'Aqibat mardūd olup tekti anga sansız malāl.
 Yā ilāhi ! ol irenlerning haqqı kim şıdğıla
 Waşl genjini tileben taptılar sendin wişāl.
 Barcha mu'minlar gunāhın qıl kerem birle 'afū,
 Hāshr küniñde alargha birmegil sen inf'āl.
 Bu faqir Mañşūr bakhshinıñ du'āsın qıl qabūl,
 Akhıratta haqq Muḥammad birle birgıl ittişāl.*

Bayt

*Sening dardıñ mence ter mendin artuq.
 Senge qul bolduğhum sultāndin artuq.
 Sening dhikringni aysam chol ichinde,
 Bolur ol chol mence bostāndin artuq.*

Fol. 173^r.

*Aḥsanu'l taqwīmī kören chūn Anā'l-Haqq dimesün.
 Pas nedin bartar oluptur Mañşūr-i dīwānāsı ?
 Sham'-i wahdat dur jamālīng suḥbat-i rūshan qılur.
 Qarshuda khosh khosh yanadır Saiyidiüng parwānası.*

Qāsım sözi

*Ay şanam ! Tengring üçün dardımgha qılghıl chāranı,
 Ghamza oqını atıp qıldıñ yürekke yāranı.
 Ishvalar qılmaq bile baghrimni pāra eyleding.
 Ne ziyān qılghay senge sorsang bu baghrı pāranı ?
 Terk-i dünye tauba (?) qıldım, 'āshiq oldum ḥusnunga,
 Qıldım erse men sening ay yüzüñge nazḡaranı.
 Ol kāghadh (?) teg iki yüzlüg mudda'ını, ay şanam,
 Bashını kesgil qalam teg. Sortayın (?) men ghāranı.
 Qāsım-ı bichāra ger ölse ishigingde, bigim,
 Öz qulung birle kötergil sen oshol bichāranı.*

Fol. 173^v.

Qoshuqlar

*Te köngül ol bī-wafā iliginde dur.
 Jān qushı dayım jafā iliginde dur.
 Nola ? Iligin qoyssa qasda könglüme,
 Anıñg üçün kim dawā iliginde dur.*

*Ker chaman ichre khīrāmān boyle ;
 Gulshanı qılghıl mu'attar boyle ;*

'*Andalīb-u ḥūrñi qılghül khajil ;*
Birni oyan-u birni kötü koyile.

İki chashmüm bir biri rukhsārī dur.
Her (?) chamanda fitnaḡ-i rukhsārī dur.
Te sanaqdīn (?) almāsīnī körgeli
Akhratīngdīn chūn biḥi rukhsārī dur.

Te köngülge saldı dilbar mihriñi ;
Mihrüme qıldı ziyāda mihriñi.
Ol qamar teg yüzü, zuhra teg jafā,
Munfa'il qıldı felekñing mihriñi.

(b) The Arabic and Persian texts in the margins
of folios 180^r and 179^v

Bayt

Her ki bar ḥaqq buwad bā arḡ-u-jahān
Hāşıl ārad bā jumlag-i a'rād.
Pas dar warṭha-yi halak aştād¹
Ān ki az rāh-i ḥaqq kunad i'rād.

Tisa'a thamānūn

İdha amlaqtum (?) fa-tājirū wallāhi bi's-ṣadaqāti

Ṣadaqa sabab-i ziyādat-i māl ast wa sa'ādāt-i ḥāl ast wa her
ki ṣadaqa dihad tuwāngar ast wa ḥāl-i farāhat.

Bayt

Hīch chīzī ma-dān tu chūn ṣadaqa
Hast az ū māl chahra pīshī
Ū rasānad kasān ba-istighnā
Ū rahānad sarranj-i (?) darwīshī.

Tis'in

Man lāna 'ūduhu kathurat akhṣānuhu

Ar narm bāshad wa siyāsāt ba-waqt na kunad wa marāsīm-i
adab-rā muḥmal gudharad sar dastān-i ū kardan kashī (?)
kunand wa ūrā ḥurmat na dārand wa bā murād-i ū na rawand.

¹ Sic here and in the Persian prose translation of Proverb 93 for *uštād*.
JRAS. JANUARY 1928.

Bayt

Her ki bā kih̄tarān kunad narm
 Mānad andar balīyat-i īshān
 Na na andash (?) ba dastī kardan¹
 Na barandash ba-wājib-i firmān.

Ihdā tis'in

Qalbu'l aḥmaqi fī fammihi

Her chi dil-i aḥmaq bāshad ba-zabān bi-gūyad wa khalq-rā
 az sirr-i khīsh ibhā kardā nad.

Bayt

Her ki ū hast bā hamāqat juft
 Jāygāh-i dilash dahān-i vay ast
 Her chi dārad zi nīk-u bad dar dil
 Ān hama bar sar-i zabān-i vay ast.

Ithnā-tis'in

Lisānu'l 'āqili fī qalbihi

Her ki khīrad bāshad sirr-i khīsh dar dil nigāh dārad wa bā
hīch kas nagūyad.

Bayt

Her ki ū hast bā-kamāl u khīrad
 Hast panhān zabān-i ū dar dil
 Na shawad hīch sirr-i ū paydā
 Na buwad hīch guft-i ū bātil.

Thalātha-tis'in

Man jarra fī 'ināni amalīhi 'athara bi-ajalihi

Her ki 'inān ba-dast-i amal dihad wa bar mojib-i hawā-yi
 nafs rawad zūd bāshad ki dar mughūr-i halāk aftād.

Bayt

Dar hama kārhā ba-gufti hawā
 Her ki bi-dihad 'inān ba-dast-i amal
 Bīm bāshad ki ān amal nagāh
 Andar andāzadash bi-jā-yi ajal.

Arba'a-tis'in

Idhā wasalat 'alaykum atrāfi'n-ni'ami falā tanfaru

¹ The reading is uncertain owing to worm-holes.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF ASVAGHOSA'S SAUNDARA-NANDA

The text of Aśvaghōṣa's Saundara-nanda¹ has been rather less worked over than that of the Buddha-carita; and is, indeed, to begin with, in a much better condition. The following note is a contribution towards clearing up passages in which there is room for conjecture. I must apologize if inaccessibility of books of reference has led to my repeating suggestions made by other scholars.

I, 54, *d.*—*ālānam bāhuśālinām*, editor (from variants in P.L.M. and P.M.). Read *āsthānam* "audience-hall". Cf. *ānarttām* in *c.*

II, 28, *d.*—*rātrīsatrān avīvat.* *rātrīsatrūn* is an obvious conjecture; but perhaps A. used *rātrītrasān* in sense of *rātrīcarān*. Cf. Amara-k°. *carīṣṇu jaṅgamacaram trasam*, etc.

IV, 3, *c.*—*dīptyā ca mānena ca bhāminīti*. Clearly *bhāmena* in much the same sense as *dīptyā*. *Māna* is disposed of in *a, b.*

IV, 4, *c.* — *svakulodītena*. Inapplicable. Probably *sakalodītena*, with the usual play on *kalā*.

IV, 14, *c.*—*niśvāsavātena ca darpaṇasya cikitsayitvā nijaghāna nandaḥ*. The corruption *cik°* destroys the central incident. Read *kimcic chucitram* "he spoilt the clearness of the mirror". Raghu-v°. VII, 68 (possibly a reminiscence) suggests *bāṣṇa* for *vātena*.

IV, 16, *c.*—*patrāṅgulim*. Read *patrāṅjalim*.

VI, 43, *b.*—*svasthaḥ phalasthaḥ*. *svastho'phalasthaḥ* seems inevitable.

VII, 20, *c.*—*śaktaḥ*. Read *saktaḥ*: "he is not attached (to the senses) as I am". The two words are almost interchangeable; cf. Buddha-car°. III, 50, VI, 18, etc.

VIII, 35, *a.*—*vacanena haranti varṇanā*. Read *valgunā*.

¹ Ed. Haraprasad Sastri, Calcutta (*Bibliotheca Indica*), 1910.

Haranti "charm", $a : b :: c : d$. Cf. Bhartṛhari, Śṛṅg°. 60, which practically quotes c, d .

IX, 34, c .—*karavān*. Read *balavān*. Cf. S. XV, 60.

X, 3, d .—*malaṁ jale sādthur ivojjihīṛṣuḥ*. Read *magnam*.

XI, 51, b .—*dhīmatāṁ yan mumūrṣatām*. P.M. *himatāvat*. The latter suggests *iha tāvan mumūrṣatām* (in contrast to *patatāṁ svargād* of c, d). For *devānta* read *devātta* in d .

XII, 3.—*parihāsasamo*. Read °*saho*.

XIII, 22, c .—*saṁvegah*. Read *saṁvedaḥ*, anticipating *saṁvit*.

XIV, 48, d .—*kṛṣṭodakā gaur iva sasyamadhyāt*, i.e. the animal drawing up water strays into the crops? But I would suggest *kṛṣṭodgatā* "straying into the cultivated field". For *ud-* in this sense cf. *utpatha*.

XVI, 38, d .—*lokapravṛttā ca ratiḥ kṣamā ca*. Read °*pravṛttāv aratiḥ*.

XVII, 5, a .—*cikīṛṣuḥ*. Read *titīṛṣuḥ* (*cik*° occurs, in place, in b).

XVIII, 36, a, b . — *unmīlitasyāpi janasya madhye nimīlitasyāpi tathaiva cakṣuḥ*. This is one of two instances in the text of A. of a harsh use of *madhye* in a predicative sense without a verb. The other is Buddha-car°. IV, 91, *māhātmyaṁ na ca tanmadhye*. Both disappear with the correction to *manye*, a word intrinsically appropriate and common in the Rāmāyaṇa, which has great influence over A.

C. W. GURNER, I.C.S.

MYMENSINGH.

August, 1927.

AMITRAGHATA

The son and successor of Candragupta Maurya is known to Buddhist lore by the name of *Bindusāra*¹; the Purāṇic

¹ The names beginning or ending with *bindu* seem to present an extraordinary difficulty, inasmuch as the ordinary sense of the word, viz. "a drop", does not seem to fit here. *Ajabindu*, king of the Sauvira, in the *Kaṭṭhīya*. i, 6, looks suspiciously like *Ajabandhu* in the *Kāśikā* on P. iv, 1, 96 (cf. *VOJ.* xxviii, 234). But we find *Kuśabindu*, *Kusurubindu*, *Tṛṇabindu*,

forms *Nandasāra* and *Bhadrasāra* are probably quite valueless attempts to explain, in one way or other, a name which was unintelligible to the composers of the *Purāṇas*. But the Greeks knew nothing of either of these names. They called him by a name which has been retransliterated into Sanskrit as *Amitraghāta* "the slayer of foes", which, on the other hand, does not occur in Hindu lore. For it is only a guess that the word *amitrāghāta* in the *Bhāṣya* on Pāṇini iii, 2, 88, is quoted with reference to the ruler of Pāṭaliputra.¹ If, however, it is in reality not a name but a title, it certainly gains some support from the expression *amitrāṇām hantā* used among the titles bestowed upon the king at the Rājasūya; cf. *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii, 19, etc.

Since the time of Lassen² and Weber³ it seems to have been taken for granted that the Sanskrit equivalent of the Greek name should be *Amitraghāta* and nothing else.⁴ And this has been considered so obvious that no one has even taken the care to sift the Greek evidence, scanty as it is. When dealt with, however, it seems to point in another direction.

Amitraghāta is the retransliteration of the form *Ἀμιτροχάρης* found in a passage of the work of Athenæus,⁵ a well-known author belonging to the early third century A.D. He tells the well-known story of how this Indian monarch wanted to purchase from the then king of Syria⁶ sweet wine, figs, and

Dvibindu, *Śaśabindu*, and, on the other hand, *Bindunātha*, *Bindumatī*, *Bindurekhā*, *Bindusena*, etc. Sometimes *bindu* (like *indu*, with which it has, of course, no etymological connexion) may mean "the moon", though the dictionaries do not seem to give this sense; cf. *Bindudeva* as a name of Śiva.

¹ Cf. *CHI.*, vol. i, p. 495.

² *Indische Altertumskunde*,² ii, 222.

³ *Indische Studien*, xiii, 331.

⁴ Only after this had gone to print I became aware of the remarks by Fleet, *JRAS.* 1909, pp. 24, 426 sq., which are mainly quite correct. The contradictory opinion of Professor Keith, *ibid.*, 1909, p. 423 sq., is not well founded and contains some apparent mistakes.

⁵ xiv, 67.

⁶ Either Seleucus I (d. 280 B.C.) or his successor, Antiochus I (280-261 B.C.). Concerning this there is a slight discrepancy in the *CHI.*, vol. i, pp. 433 and 495.

a philosopher. The story may have seemed witty to the Greeks as branding the utter insipidity and lack of decorum of the barbarians; but, as already Lassen¹ remarked, it can scarcely be true. However, we are not concerned with that here. It is, I believe, generally assumed that Athenæus got his story from the recollections of Dēimachus, the envoy of the Syrian king to the court of Pāṭaliputra. Thus the form of the name originating from Dēimachus would be Ἀμιτροχάτης = *Amitraghāta*. This, however, is obviously very uncertain.

But a writer of greater authority than Athenæus and living some two and a half centuries before him has left us another form of the name of this Indian king. Strabo in one passage² tells us the following: ἐπέμφθησαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παλίμβοθρα, ὁ μὲν Μεγασθένης πρὸς Σανδρόκοτον, ὁ δὲ Δηϊμαχος πρὸς Ἀλλιτροχάδην τὸν ἐκείνου υἱὸν κατὰ πρεσβείαν. Here we have the oldest form of the name attested, viz. Ἀλλιτροχάδης.³ But at any time the reading ΑΛΛΙΤΡΟ° could of course arise out of ΑΜΙΤΡΟ°; and we have consequently to presuppose as the oldest form preserved by Greek literature Ἀμιτροχάδης.

But this Ἀμιτροχάδης can scarcely render a Sanskrit *Amitraghāta*. As has been suggested already long ago, it is far more easily explained out of a form *Amitrakhāda*. Sufficient stress, in my opinion, has not been laid on the fact that *amitrakhādā* is an epithet of Indra in RV. x, 152, 1:—

Śāsā itthā mahāñ asy amitrakhādō ādbhutaḥ |

nā yāsya hanyāte sākḥā nā jñyate kādā canā ||

For the great god not only hunts down and kills (*han*) foes and friends, he even chews them, crushes them completely (*khād*) just as Dante makes the Prince of Darkness crush between his teeth the disciple who betrayed Jesus and the

¹ Loc. cit., ii, 223.

² ii, 1, 9 (C. 70); ed. Kramer, vol. i, p. 109.

³ By a strange coincidence Lassen, loc. cit. ii, p. 222, n. 7, and the *CHI.*, vol. i, p. 495, n. 1, have both the slightly misspelt form Ἀλλιτροχάδως.

murderers of Cæsar. In the same sense he is the *vrtrakhāda* "the crusher of fiends (*vrtrāṇi*)" in *RV.*, iii, 45, 2 and 51, 9; and the same epithet, in *RV.*, x, 65, 10, is bestowed upon Brhaspati, the *purohita*, who accompanies Indra, his king and protector, in the battles and hurls down the fiends by his magic and powerful incantations. And, to keep only to the *Rgveda*, in vi, 65, 1, Sarasvatī, a mighty goddess, is said to have totally crushed the Paṇi (*ācakhāda . . . paṇīm*), the niggardly barbarian who does not bring sacrifice to the gods of the Aryans.

Indra, the king of the gods, is the prototype of the earthly monarch. Just as Indra chews, crushes, annihilates his foes, so does his earthly counterpart, the king, an idea which is, of course, not foreign to the post-Vedic literature either. In face of this, and as the oldest Greek form of the name undoubtedly points to *Amitrakhāda*, I venture to think that this—and not *Amitraghāta*—should be the title of Candragupta's son. Thus he was known as Bindusāra, "the annihilator of his foes." But of his warlike exploits we unfortunately know nothing.¹

JARL CHARPENTIER.

DATE OF THE SUBHASITAVALI

Dr. S. K. De's note on the *Subhāṣitāvalī* (*ante*, pp. 471-7) calls forth a few queries before we can accept his contention. The date A.D. 1160 (= 4260 Kaliyuga era) cited in the *Ṭikāsarvasva* of Sarvānanda (p. 91) is not his own, but that of a contemporary work named *Gaṇitacūḍāmaṇi* by Śrinivāsa, whom he quotes as his authority: *kalisandhyāyāḥ khasamaya-kara-kṛta-varṣāṇi*. Sarvānanda refers to this date as *idānīm . . . bhūtāni* (recently past); his work must

¹ The article, by Professor Gawroński, in the *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, ii (1925), p. 21 seq., on Bindusāra and his suggested conquests is an able piece of work, but wholly hypothetical. Jain evidence—if so it can be styled—rather points to Candragupta having conquered the South. However, nothing but finds of inscriptions older than those of Aśoka will throw light on this dark period of Indian history.

therefore have been written soon after, say, within a decade or two after A.D. 1160. This only improves Dr. De's position, for, relying on a single reference in Sarvānanda, the learned Doctor was inclined in rather a sweeping manner to consider all later verses in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* as interpolations, and was forced to place the date of the work itself within a period of not more than a decade (A.D. 1150-60) at the greatest possible stretch, though Sarvānanda was citing the Kasmirian from far-off Bengal. The learned Professor ignores the most pertinent fact bearing on the question: besides the compiler of the *Subhāṣitāvalī*, there was another Vallabhadeva, of whom no less than seventeen verses are given in this *Subhāṣitāvalī*, and eight of these verses are in *āryā* metre, like the verse cited in the *Ṭikāsarvasva*. This earlier Vallabhadeva is also cited in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (the *āryā* verse No. 481 of the *Subhāṣitāvalī*, for instance, is given in the Skm. under Vallabhadeva). The *Sārṅgadhara-paddhati* has seven verses, all in *āryā* metre, ascribed to Vallabhadeva, none of which are to be found in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* (Peterson's Intr., p. 113). This latter fact is important, as showing that the printed *Subhāṣitāvalī* does not exhaust the verses of Vallabhadeva. Moreover, in the newly published commentary of the *Nītivākyaṃṛta* (Bombay, 1923) a good many verses, mostly very well known, are ascribed to Vallabhadeva. Thus the famous verses beginning *udyamena hi siddhyanti* (p. 19 of the *Nīti.*), *udyoginam purusasimham* (ib., p. 312), and *siṃho vyākaraṇasya* (ib., p. 397) are ascribed to him. Only a few of them are given either anonymously (vide Nos. 458, 2803, and 2894) or under a different name (vide No. 507, ascribed here to Vikramāditya) in the *Subhāṣitāvalī*. One of his verses, *guṇānām eva daurjanyāt*, etc. (p. 114 of *Nīti.*), reappears in the *Kāvyaaprakāśa* (Ullāsa X); this would place Vallabhadeva earlier still (say about A.D. 1000). He may, therefore, be identical with the famous commentator, as Peterson surmised (*Subh.* Intr., p. 114). Sarvānanda's reference to him as an authority also presupposes a fair distance

of time between them. One of the *āryā* verses of this Vallabhadeva (No. 150 of the *Subh.*) modestly observes how bad verses turn into *subhāṣitas* when read at leisure: *avasara-pathitam*, etc. It is, therefore, quite probable that this earlier Vallabhadeva composed (cf. the word *racita* used in the *Tīkāsarv.*) a book of verses named *Subhāṣitāvalī*, probably in the *āryā* metre, quite distinct from the anthology before us. It is to this earlier work that Sarvānanda evidently refers, and the later anthologies borrow its verses quite independently, with all the possible errors common to such works. It is not necessary, therefore, to mark as interpolations the verses of Śrī-Baka or to question the identity of Jonarāja. For there are several other verses of the *Subh.* which have to be similarly dealt with before we can accept Dr. De's date. Verses Nos. 1980 and 1981, given anonymously, are from the *Prasannarāghava* of Jayadeva, a distinctly late writer. No. 27 is from the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* of Bilvamaṅgala, and No. 2540 is from Śrīvara's *Rājataranīṅī*. Besides, no work quoting Śrīharṣa, the author of the *Naiṣadhīya*, can *prima facie* be placed before A.D. 1200. The printed *Subh.* not only cites Śrīharṣa extensively, but gives an interesting anonymous verse on the literary humbugs who dabble in his *Khaṇḍana*¹: *sāvadyam khaṇḍakhāḍyam paṭha*, etc. (line 3 of verse No. 2384 of the *Subh.*). The abstruse philosophical work of Śrīharṣa must, therefore, have attained a sufficient celebrity to be the theme of such popular verses of a poet, who again was evidently too far removed from the time of the compiler to be traced by him.

D. C. BHATTACHARYYA.

NOTE ON A NEW TAXILA INSCRIPTION

During his excavations at Taxila in January and March, 1927, Sir John Marshall has again unearthed some interesting remains, comprising several Kharoshthī inscriptions. One

¹ *Khaṇḍakhāḍya* is also the name of a famous astronomical work of Brahmagupta.

of these records is of some importance, and we again have to record an increase in our indebtedness to Sir John for his masterly excavations.

The inscription has been found on a silver vase of duck shape. Some aksharas may have disappeared in the beginning and there is an effaced portion in the middle; in other respects the state of preservation seems to be good. Sir John has been good enough to send me a cast and some photographs, from which I derive my reading.

What remains can be read with comparative certainty as *ka* 1 100 20 20 20 20 10 1 *maharaja* . . . [*sa*] *putrasa Jihonika Cukhsasa kshatrapasa*.

I am not in a position to decide whether something is missing before the initial *ka*. If there should prove to be enough room left for four aksharas we might restore [*saṃvat̐sara*]*k*[*e*]; if not, *ka* is perhaps an abbreviation for *kale*, though that would be unexampled in Kharoshthī inscriptions.

The defaced portion seems to have contained six aksharas. The first one seems to have been *bhra* and the fourth one *ni*. With some confidence I therefore restore this portion as *bhrata-Manigulasa*.

This record teaches us that Jihonika, i.e. the ruler whom we knew from coins as Jihonika, Zeionises, the son of Manigula, was kshatrapa in Cukhsa, and not, as has sometimes been stated, in Pushkalāvati. Cukhsa, which also occurs on the Taxila copper plate of the year 78, has been identified by Sir Aurel Stein with the modern Chachh, and the government charge of Cukhsa must have comprised Taxila.

We further learn that Jihonika's father, Manigula, was the brother of some *mahārāja*. Now this new record is so little removed from the Khalatse inscription of the year 187 in time that it seems allowed to think of the same ruler in both records, the more so because the title *mahārāja* is only applied to quite few rulers in Kharoshthī records of the same period. In the Khalatse inscription the *mahārāja's* name is given as

Uvimakav[thisa], which can hardly mean anything else than the common *Wima Kathphīsa* (or, *Kaphthīsa*), the well-known Kushāṇa ruler. The designation *maharaja-bhrata* is well-known from coins of the predecessors of the Kushāṇas, and as the succession not infrequently went from a ruler to his brother, and further to the brother's son, the new inscription seems to imply that in the year 191 of the old Saka era, i.e. according to my reckoning¹ in A.D. 103-4, Jihonika, the kshatrapa of the Taxila country, had some claim to the position as *mahārāja*, which was held four years previously by Wima Kadphises. Whether Manigula was the brother of Wima Kadphises or of an unknown successor of his we cannot say. It seems, however, necessary to infer that Wima Kadphises was no more alive and that Jihonika had set up as a practically independent ruler in Taxila.

This would mean a weakening of the strength and unity of the Kushāṇa empire, and in this connexion it is worth while bearing in mind that Wima Kadphises does not seem to have paid so much attention to his Indian dominions as his predecessor. Chinese accounts state that he ruled through a viceroy, and the Indianization of the names and titles of the oldest of the Western Kshatrapas, his governors, and the use of the Vikrama era in Mathurā even before his accession point to an increasing influence of national Indian elements.

At all events we have no information to the effect that there was a Kushāṇa emperor between Wima Kadphises and Kanishka, and if Sir John Marshall is right in assuming an interval between these two kings, the Jihonika inscription would belong to this interval, when there was no supreme ruler and individual governors claimed independent power.

The final outcome of this state of things was a new great expansion of Scythian power. The Sakas of India and of Turkestan joined hands, and a chief of the latter country, the famous Kanishka, became the leader of a great expedition,

¹ Cf. *Acta Orientalia*, v, pp. 31 f.

through which the empire was extended eastwards to Eastern India.¹

It is perhaps possible to interpret this development to mean that the Saka chiefs could not easily agree to submit to a suzerain among those who had already entered on the Indian stage, and that an energetic person like Kanishka, who had grown up outside of India, experienced little difficulty in pushing aside those who might have claimed the leading position in the empire. And he seems to have acted quickly and energetically. Already, in the first year of his era,² we find him on the north-western frontier of India, and two years later in Sārnāth. And soon he was the recognized ruler of the whole Kushāṇa empire, both in India and in Turkestan.

It is curious to see how the history of the Sakas in India repeats itself.

The inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion Capital introduces us to several Saka chiefs, gathered at Mathurā, and one of them, the local kshatrapa Śoḍāsa, dedicates the ground on which they had been encamped to a Buddhist monastery, the Guhāvihāra.

The former king of kings seems to have died during the expedition connected with these camps at Mathurā. For in l. 13 of the chief inscription I read *Muki-śri-ṛaya saśpa abhusavita*, where *Muki* seems to be the same name as *Moga*, cf. *Śuḍasa* for *Śoḍāsa*, and the intervocalic *k* of the name *Mevaki* in the capital inscriptions. In *abhusavita* I see the gerund of a denominative of Skr. *utsava* + *abhi*, and explain the passage as referring to funeral solemnities after the death of the king of kings, at which his horse, in Scythian fashion, was interred or cremated together with the king's corpse.

Now the Mathurā inscriptions twice mention a *yuvarāja* Kharaosta, who has been identified with a kshatrapa Kharahostes, the son of Arṭa or Orṭa, who is known from coins. The inscriptions have usually been interpreted to state that

¹ Cf. *Acta Orientalia*, vi, pp. 93 ff.

² The Kanishka casket is, so far as I can see, dated *saṃ* 1.

Kharaosta was the son of Ayasi Komusa, the chief queen of Śoḍāsa's father, the *mahākshatrapa* Rajula, and consequently a half-brother of Śoḍāsa. It has not, however, proved possible to interpret his title *yuvarāja* in a satisfactory way, for the person entitled to be styled *yuvarāja* in the province of the *mahākshatrapa* Rajula would naturally be his son Śoḍāsa. It is a priori likely that the *yuvarāja* was something more than the heir of a *mahākshatrapa*.

Now the reading *Ayasia Komusaa* in the first line of the Mathurā inscription, is, in my opinion, unwarranted. We must, I think, read *Ayasia Kamuña*. The same *Kamuña*, in the form *Kamuño*, is found under the words *Kharaosta yuvaraya* in inscription E, where I take it to be a designation of Kharaosta. If we bear in mind that *mb* becomes *m*, i.e. *mm*, in the dialect of the Kharoshthī Dhammapada, and that *u* is used for Skr. *o* in the name *Śuḍasa*, it becomes possible to explain *Kamuña* as corresponding to Skr. *Kāmbojika*, and, at all events, it seems clear that Rajula's chief queen was a *Kamuña*, just as was the case with Kharaosta. Such designations are naturally inherited from the father and not from the mother, and I draw the inference that Ayasia was the daughter of Kharaosta. The latter was evidently a person of some consequence. He had two brothers, the *kumāra* Khalamasa and the youngest brother Maja, and he is mentioned twice in the inscriptions, and in such a way that his name catches the eye. He can scarcely have been a young boy. Ayasia Kamuña, on the other hand, cannot have been an old lady. Her mother and her paternal grandmother both participate in the donations recorded in the inscriptions. And the word *dhitra* standing between *Ayasia Kamuña* and *Kharaostasa yuvaraṇa* can hardly be an instrumental, because the akshara *tra* has the shape which regularly denotes an old uncompound intervocalic *t* in these records.

My interpretation is, therefore, to the following effect: Moga, the king of kings, was dead, but there was a *yuvarāja*, Kharaosta, who had certain claims to the position. He was

not the son of Moga, for his coin legends show that his father's name was Arṭa or Orṭa. If we bear in mind the fact that the succession sometimes passed to a brother and, further, to a brother's son, it becomes likely that Arṭa was a brother of Moga, and if Kharaosta was a Kāmbojika, we should perhaps draw the inference that Moga himself was descended from the old Sakas of Ki-pin and not directly from those Saka chiefs who originally came to Sindh from Seistān. After the overthrow of the Sakas in Mālava by Vikramāditya, the centre of the Indian Saka empire was transferred to the Panjab, and northern chiefs took the lead.

Kharaosta was not successful in claiming the imperial position. The Saka kshatrapas could not agree to submit to him as their suzerain, though there had arisen a common danger in the north-west through the advance of the Parthian Azes towards the Indus. The kshatrapa of Mathurā married Kharaosta's daughter, more in order to strengthen his own position than to embrace the case of his father-in-law. The Saka chiefs could not, however, agree about the selection of a king of kings. The most powerful ones, the kshatrapas of Taxila and Mathurā, set up as mahākahatrapas, a title which is found for the first time on the Lion Capital, and which, in my opinion, was not introduced before Moga's death.

That meant a distinct weakening of the unity within the Saka realm, the strength of the empire was declining, and gradually the Sakas were ousted by the Parthians.

It did not, however, last long before the Saka empire was re-established by a northern chief, Kujūla Kadphises, whose name seems to be found for the first time, as the *erjhuna* Kapa, in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103. The old dominions were again brought under Saka rule by him and his son Wima Kadphises.

When the latter died, between the years 187 and 191, a new disintegration of Saka power seems to have set in. And, again, new strength came from outside, when Kanishka entered on the Indian stage.

I know that much of this is hypothetical, and I should cordially welcome any criticism, which might be utilized in the forthcoming edition of Kharoshthī inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.

STEN KONOW.

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES

- (1) *GIR-PAD-DU* = *ḫursinnu* "leg bone, leg", *ešimtu* "bone"

The Semitic equivalent of the well-known Sumerian word *gīr-pad-du* (var. *da*) has not been determined, although it is certain that the word means "bone", of both humans and animals. The suggestion has been made by Fossey and Ungnad¹ that the Semitic is *ešmāti*, general term for human bones, plural of *ešmitu*,² *eššimtu*,² *ešmitum*,² *ešentu*,³ *ešittu*.⁴ The singular is employed as collective in all the known passages. The Hebrew cognate עֲצָמִים is used for both human and animal bones, and so is the Ethiopic 'ādem. It must be supposed, therefore, that *ešimtu* should be used in Accadian for human and animal bones also. Since the Sumerian word *gīr* (written 𒄎𒅗𒅗) is explained in CT. 12, 13, A. 10, by *ešimtu*, the natural inference is that *gīr*(𒄎𒅗𒅗)-*pad*(𒅗𒅗𒅗)-*du* must be rendered by *ešimtu*, at least in those passages where the ideogram obviously means "human bones".

But it is clear from Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts*, K. 2500, 3, compared with K. 5415, A. 9, that *gīrpaddu*, when employed of quadrupeds, means *ḫursinnu*, Hebrew קַרְסָל "fore-leg, ankle-bone". In one passage we have *lipī gīr-pad-du šabīti*, and in the other, *lipī ḫur-sin-ni šabīti*,

¹ See Holma, *Körperteile*, 4.

² See my *Epic of Creation*, 164, and OECT. vi, 95, n. 2.

³ 𒅗𒅗 (ga-ag) = *ešentu*, RA. 11, 124, obv. 6; *gīr* = *ešentum*, *gag* = *ešentum*, [. . .] *a* = *ešentum*, Meissner, MAG. i, 2, 53, 26-8.

⁴ Clay, YOS. i, 43, 5, and Meissner, *ibid.*, 30.

marrow of the fore-leg of a male goat. Again in K. 1845, 12, *lipi gîr-pad-du immeri*, marrow of the fore-leg of a sheep. Again in K. 8349, 1 and 4, *gîr-pad-du* 𐎶𐎶-*da*, i.e. *gûd-da* "short bone", is opposed to *gîr-pad-du-gid-da* "long bone", where the *kursinnu* of the sheep or goat is probably meant. The sign 𐎶𐎶-*da* never means "long" as Thompson in his valuable study of these texts supposes.¹ That was a suggestion made by Jensen, ZK. ii, 421, and incorporated into Brünnow's sign list, No. 10170, without evidence. Kugler, *Sternkunde*, i, 49, proved, conclusively, that *LAGAB-da* means *kurû* "cut off, short", and omen texts repeatedly oppose *gûd-da* "short, brief" to *gid-da* "long", *arâku*,² concerning which no further argument is necessary. That *LAGAB-da* means "short" is proved again by *ṣipisan nu-gid-da* = *garru* (= *karru*), i.e. "Basket not long", with *ṣipisan-gûd-da* = *garru*, Rm. 2, 27, ll. 16-17, in Meissner's *Supplement*, restored by a Kish syllabary. In other words *nu-gid-da* = *LAGAB-da*.

The reading *gûd-da* is established by 𐎶𐎶 (*lu-gu-ud*) = *kurû*, *Recueil de Travaux*, XXXII, AO. 4489, obv. 20 = CT. 19, 32, Rm. 604, 19, and by *Voc. Scheil*, 64, *lu-gu-ud* = *kurû*; also CT. 12, 25, A. 47-50, *LAGAB* (*lu-gu-ud*) = *kurû*, *matû* (= *maṭû* of var. *Scheil*), *ispu* "hunch back, misbirth". Either *lugud* or *gud* is possible; cf. *uṣ-gû-da* = *šiddu kurû* "short side", opposed to *uṣ-gid-da* = *šiddu arku* "long side", *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, 14, 6, 22. Note especially the commentary on the *Epic of Creation*, vii, 113, *lik-ri* = King, *Creat.* ii, pl. liii, 43, and *zi-mu ma-da-gûd-da* = *ik-te-ru napišti* "they have cut off my soul", *AJSL.* 28, 229, § 58. See also OECT. i, 19, 13; RA. 17, 68, 31. This old error, thus introduced into Assyriology, arose from the supposition that 𐎶𐎶-*da* and 𐎶𐎶-*da* are variants in omen texts,

¹ *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, xix, 48.

² *Babyloniaca*, iii, 298, 2 (his days will be shortened), *gûd*, but l. 5, *gid*, (they will be long); Virolleaud, *Astrologie*, *Sin* iv, 19-20, the night is *arik* (*ik*), but in the opposite omen *gûd-da* (*kurû*).

whereas they actually denote opposite and contrasted ideas.¹

It is, therefore, certain that *gîr-pad-du* means *ḫursinnu*, when employed for the bones of quadrupeds, and has a special anatomical signification, i.e. the *fibula* or lower leg. Consequently *gîr* in this compound must mean *šēpu* "foot"; *gîr* is actually rendered by *ešentum* "human bone", as we have noted above. But what did the Sumerians—if this word *gîrpaddu* is of Sumerian origin and not a late Accadian invention—mean by describing the fore-leg (*ḫursinnu*) by "foot-pad-du"? *pad* (*pad*) usually means "to munch", *ḫarāšu*, MAG. i, 2, 50, 232, which by partial assimilation becomes *ḫarāšu* "knew at bones". So in iv, Raw. 56, B. 40 + 44, *gîrpaddu-ša la ḫarāši* "Their (*amēlūti*) bone which is not to be knawed" = Ebeling, KAR. 239, p. 176, 15 (here of men, hence *ešimtu*). The original meaning, said of animals, would then be "the edible part of the foot", lower leg, and cf. *ḫursinnu* as part of the sacrificial animal assigned to priests, v, R., 61, v, 14, etc. In fact, *ḫursinnu*² is most probably for *ḫursinnu*, from the root *ḫarāšu* > *ḫarāšu*, Hebrew כָּרַע, and cf. late Hebrew כְּרַעְיָא "ankle", and Syr. *ḫūrṣelā*, with *k̄rā'ā* (כְּרַעְיָא), where the diminutive ending *al*, *el* is omitted,³ and the noun is formed from the root *ḫ-r-ṣ* > *k-r-*. In Arabic *kursu*(*un*), and the quadraliteral *karsa'* ("to cripple"), and Syriac *karsū'ā* "joint", are difficult to explain. In any case *ḫursinnu* contains the common Semitic diminutive ending *ān*. So in Assyrian we have *ḫāḫānu* beside *ḫāḫulu*, *ḫāḫullu*, diminutives of *ḫāḫū* "crow".

gîr-pad-du, therefore, means "foot + knaw", or "edible foot-(bone)" and is clearly equivalent to *ḫursinnu*, when the

¹ The root *gud*, "to cut off, shorten," was entered in my *Vocabulary, Sumerian Grammar*, but not by Delitzsch in his *Glossar*.

² Spelled *k/ḫur-sin-nu*, *k/ḫur-si-nu*.

³ The diminutive ending *al* in Semitic languages is regarded as Indo-Germanic by Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, i, 402. But this cannot be assumed for Assyrian words, like *ḫāḫullu*, Arabic *ḫauḫal* "partridge", diminutive of *ḫāḫū*, or *nappillum* "a garment", diminutive of *nappū*.

word is connected with quadrupeds. On the other hand, a word *gir*, written both 𐎶𐎵 (*gîr*, usual word for "foot") and 𐎶𐎶𐎵 , is rendered by *ešimtu*, *ešentu*, general word for "bone" in the vocabularies. It is, therefore, probable that, in *girpaddu*, two roots must be assumed: (1) *gir-pad* = "foot-knaw" = *kursinnu*, and (2) *gir-pad* = "bone-knaw" = *ešemtu*, *ešmāti*. There is no apparent reason for adding *pad* to *gir* to obtain a general word for "bone" in (2) and the only explanation which occurs to me is to invoke the principle of analogy here.

(2) *parû*, *varû* "to empty", *vomere*

Friedrich Kùchler in his *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Assyrisch-Babylonischen Medizin*, p. 111, undoubtedly established the meaning of *parû* "vomit". He suggested the Arabic فرغ "to empty", which in the *istafa'al* form actually means *vomit*. At least both *parû*, and the suggested Arabic cognate, form the preterite and present respectively with vowel *u*, *ip-ru*, Kùchler, *ibid.*, 30, 40; *iafruğ*. This meaning of *parû* is also proved by CT. 18, 35, B. 39, [ka]-è-dé = *parû ša pî* "to empty by the mouth", and by its synonym *zanāhu* "to have nausea", Kùchler, 30, 44, Arabic *zaniha* "be foul", Prs. *iaznah*; Heb. זנה , Hiph. "stink"; *zinhu*, Syn. *zû* (= *stercus*), *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, i, 45, obv. 9 (Sum. *še* = *KU*). See Weidner, *Leipziger Semitistische Studien*, vii, 81. The root occurs as *šanāhu* in Prm. *ši-na-ah*, CT. 30, 43, 17. Note that Sumerian *šed* > *še-e*¹ = *zû*, and *šē-bar-ra* = *zanāhu*, Meissner, SAI. 8040. For another ideogram = *šanāhu*, v. Langdon, *Drehem*, p. 9, against Meissner's suggestion for K. 4177, rev. i, 19.

Therefore the meaning of *parû* is established. The *šaf'el* occurs in *ina ni-ši kappi* (ID) *iššuri*² *tu-šap-ra-šu* "thou shalt cause him to vomit by lifting (*sic!*) the wing (feather)

¹ Also *bē*, *bu* = *zû*, Clay, YOS. i, 53, 129, where var. CT. 35, 3, 29, has *KU(bi-e)* = *tezû*; *KU(bu)* = *zû*, RA. xi, 121, iv, 6.

² Or read simply *ā-mušen* = *kappu*. Falsely transcribed by Kùchler, 24, 35.

of a bird", Küchler, Taf. viii, 35; *ina kappi*¹ *tušapra-šu*, Taf. x, 36. To these examples Dr. Thompson then added a large number.²

But in Küchler's texts (p. 42, 16; p. 50, 25) occurs *tu-ša'-ra-šu*, and in Thompson's *Assyrian Medical Texts*, *ina kappi tu-ša'-ra-šu*; both scholars assumed that this variant contains a verb *arû*, Küchler, *ibid.*, 108, חרי, חרר, חרי, *cacāre* (in spite of *h*), but Jensen, *ibid.*, 139, ערה, "to empty". Both suggestions are excluded by the present forms, *i-dr-ru(m)*, *ibid.*, 16, 28; 50, 23; I², *it-tar-ru-û*, *Babylonian Wisdom*, pl. ii, rev. 14; *i-ar-ram-ma*, AMT. 80, 1, 11; *i-dr-ru*, 36, 2, 10. > (HAL) occurs as an ideogram for *arû* in Küchler, *ibid.*, Taf. xv, 52, 54, 62, etc. But > (*bu-ru*) = *a-ru-u* and *a-šu-u*, Zimolong, *Das sumerish-assyrische Vocabular*. Ass. 523, iv, 18-19, and cf. > Δ III (*bu-ur*) = *napāhu* "blaze, shine", *hamātu* "to be hot", CT. 12, 13, B. 36 + 34, and *izi-gar su-lim búr-búr-a-zu* = *šalummat ipari-ki šitpūtum* "the resplendent gleam of thy torch", RA. xi, 149, 35. Can there be any reason for assuming a connexion between *bu-ru* = *arû* "vomit", *ašû* "to be ill, in pain",³ and *bur* "to shine, flame, be hot"?

Surely *parû* and *arû* are forms of the same verb, and hence the root of *arû* must be *varû*, and we have here *v > b > p*, as in the verb *vaḫû > paḫû*, *pāḫu* "wait for, observe", فوق; cf. Ethiopic *valaṭa > Arabic badala* = *mutāre*; *palāsu*, in Babylonian (iv,¹ to look upon) probably Arabic *vašala* "respect, reverence supplicate"; cf. *uptallis* (with *ana*), *Code Hammurabi*, § 159, with var. *utallis*, BE. 31, 50.

¹ Ebeling, *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, xiii, 11, n. 3, correctly read these passages and Dr. R. C. Thompson, *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, xix, 61, n. 5, proved it by the variant [*ina*] *ga-pi tušapra-šu*. See also Ebeling, *Keilinschriften aus Assur*, 17, obv. 5, *á-bi* = *kappa-ša*, and Geller, in Meissner's *Allorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen*, i, 283, Tafel iii, 5. *á-sud* = *kappu*, KBö. i, 42, i, 34; *á-mušen-na* = *kappu*, iv, R. 21, B. 10; *á-(sir-ra)* = *kappu*, RA. 13, 186, 43.

² Note 5 in PRSM, *ibid.*

³ Cf. Thompson, PRSM. xvii, 21, 10; AMT. 6, 9, 10-11; iv, R. 29*, C. i, 9, etc., here = Sum. *bar-ḡul*.

The Arabic cognate of *arû*, *parû*, *i-ar-ru*, *ipirru*, *ipru*, should be *وَرَى*, *وَرَى*, "to set on fire", from which *وَرَى* "boil, ulcer" is derived. Here the method of reasoning seems comparable to Latin *vomere* and *vomica* "ulcer", boil, and Arabic *كاد* "to emit fire", said of the implement for making fire, and also = *vomit*. In the minds of Semitic races there was some connexion between internal consuming sores, internal heat, and vomiting. Surely an original verb *𐎠𐎢𐎽* or *𐎠𐎢𐎽* must be assumed to explain the variant *parû*.¹

S. LANGDON.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT UR

When last season the Joint Expedition of the University Museum of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, and the British Museum ceased work at Ur, a not inconsiderable part of the early cemetery with its treasure of gold weapons and early antiquities still remained to be dug. An early start was made this year by Mr. Woolley, in the middle of October, partly because Ramadan will fall early in 1928. The opening month of the season has proved that the depredations of illicit diggers have been prevented by the armed guard left on the site, thus justifying the not inconsiderable expenditure on that score. A mass of gold beads and pendants, ear-rings of gold and silver, and other types of jewellery, show that this present

¹ Thompson, PRSM. xix, 61, n. 5, suggested *𐎠𐎢𐎽* "to throw". Professor Margoliouth, who made a thorough investigation of the Arabic verb *ورى* for me, also thinks that, if a Babylonian verb *warû* (= *vomere*) exists, it may be *𐎠𐎢𐎽* "to throw". Against this derivation are: (1) the definite statement in the syllabary, *HAL (buru) = arû*, and *buru* in Sumerian most probably means "glow, be hot", and no Sumerian word *bur*, *buru* for "throw" exists; (2) no Semitic language has a verb for "throw", which was consequently employed for *vomere*. Professor Margoliouth, however, claims that Arabic *ḡariḡa* "to emit fire" is identical with *𐎠𐎢𐎽* "to throw". It is certain that in the passage *šammahu ša ina unši it-tar-ru-ú* "the great intestine which by hunger is consumed", the verb is actually employed in a sense identical with the Arabic *ḡariḡa* "to be consumed by an internal ulcer". My rendering in *Babylonian Wisdom*, 58A, should be corrected.

season's work will be as richly rewarded as was last year's, and a sensational discovery may be made at any time. Shell plaques, with engraved geometrical patterns, perhaps from a gaming board of the kind found last year, prove that the finds belong to the period of the First Dynasty of Ur, about 3000 B.C., or even earlier. A large gold tassel bead is of interest because the applied filigree work on it is yet but little known from other sources. An unusually fine set of cylinder seals, apparently of the Agade period, about 2500 B.C. has been recovered from the rather later graves.

The requisite for completing this cemetery excavation satisfactorily during the present season as it should be completed, is funds, and these must be provided by voluntary subscriptions. Those interested should send contributions, which are welcomed however small they may be, to Sir Frederic Kenyon, Director, British Museum.

A GOLD COIN (DINAR) OF MUSTANJID

With reference to the communication of Professor Margoliouth in this *Journal* (October, 1927, p. 845) it may be of interest to record that a *dinār* of Mustanjid has been found in Ceylon. The description given in *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 261, is as follows :—

Gold, similar to *British Museum Catalogue*, I, No. 479, of al-Mustaḍī, but with change of name and date, A.H. 558 (A.D. 1162/3). Legend on obverse in six lines; reverse, area in bead circle.

H. W. CODRINGTON.

BADULLA, CEYLON.

18th November, 1927.

FONDATION DE GOEJE
COMMUNICATION

1. Le bureau de la fondation n'a pas subi de modifications depuis le mois de novembre 1926, et est ainsi composé : C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), M. Th. Houtsma, Tj. De Boer, J. J. Salverda de Grave et C. Van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Comme huitième publication de la fondation paraîtra prochainement l'édition du texte de deux traités arabes sur les chevaux (d'Ibn al-A'râbî et d'Ibn al-Kalbî) avec appareil critique et une introduction par M. G. Levi Della Vida de Rome.

3. Des sept publications de la fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires, qui sont mis en vente au profit de la fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill, aux prix marqués :

1. *Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde de la Hamâsah de al-Buhturî* (1909), fl. 96 ;
2. *Kitâb al-Fâkhîr de al-Mufaḍḍal*, éd. C. A. Storey (1915), fl. 6 ;
3. *Streitschrift dse Ġazâlî gegen die Bâtiniyya-Sekte*, par I. Goldziher (1916), fl. 4, 50 ;
4. *Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove*, éd. A. J. Wensinck (1919), fl. 4, 50 ;
5. *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, par C. Van Arendonk (1919), fl. 6 ;
6. *Die Richtungen der Islamischen Koranauslegung*, par I. Goldziher (1920), fl. 10 ;
7. *Die Epitome der Metaphysick des Averroes, übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung und Erläuterungen versehen*, par S. Van den Bergh (1924), fl. 7, 50.

Novembre, 1927.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

LE KOU-WEN CHINOIS: RECEUIL DE TEXTES AVEC INTRODUCTION ET NOTES par GEORGES MARGOULIÈS, Docteur Ès-lettres, Éleve Breveté de l'École L.O.V., Élève Titulaire de l'École des H.E.S.S.R. 6 × 10 inches, pp. 464. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1926.

Some years ago I showed a Chinese scholar the compact little volume published in 1900 by Professor H. A. Giles, Doctor of Literature and Gold Medallist of the R.A.S., which is, as stated in the preface, "the first attempt made in any language, including Chinese, to produce a history of Chinese literature." The scholar made no direct reply, but with a set face remarked: "Yesterday I ascended the hill behind this house; I looked down into the valley; I could see that in the valley lay a city; even the roofs were indistinct; I could not see the houses; I could not tell what sort of people lived in those houses; I only knew that there *was* a city." Nor could my heated argument that in clearly indicating the existence of such a city, the city of Chinese literature, Professor Giles had rendered inestimable service to Western scholarship, relax the set muscles of the scholar one wit.

Now comes Dr. Margouliès, who leads us through the courtyards and into the inner chambers in one of the most important edifices of which the city is composed; the edifice of the Chinese *ku wên*. As he himself points out, the term *ku wên* is untranslatable; it applies to a certain sort of text, highly popular in China, noted for its brevity, concision, and unity of idea, moral or philosophical. No *ku wên* text is written for the mere pleasure of producing a beautiful description or recounting an incident be it never so curious or interesting; a *ku wên* must contain a central thought elucidated, and stressed by the composition.

As Dr. Margouliès' volume is unfortunately lacking in a general index an analysis of the contents is necessary for

instantaneous appreciation of its great value. It opens with an introduction, a hundred pages in length, wherein are discussed the characteristics, the different species, and the peculiar qualities of the *ku wên*; parenthetically I may remark on two or three important passages which show unusually sensitive reaction to the content of the Chinese ideograph on the part of the author. A repertory of *ku wên* writing from the Chou through the Ch'ing dynasties; and biographical descriptions of the principal masters of *ku wên* from the Chou through the Ming dynasties, are given, and the introduction closes with an interesting note on the method pursued by the author in translation. Three appendices follow: (1) *Le Kou-wen sous les Ts'ing*; (2) *L'origine de l'acceptation actuelle de l'expression Kou-wên*; (3) *Notes Bibliographiques sur les différens recueils de Kou-wên*; these give place to the exceedingly illuminating *Index des Textes*; and then follow the texts themselves. Very useful and carefully compiled Chinese-French Geographical and Historical Indices bring the volume to a close.

The *Index des Textes* is especially illuminating as, in addition to giving the provenance of each text, Dr. Margouliès has been careful to note where, and by whom, it has been translated before. The extracts given number 120. Of these sixty-nine appear in Père Zottoli's monumental work, *Cursus Litterature Sinicae*, a few have also been translated by German scholars, and forty-eight stand to the credit of Professor Giles, the only English scholar who has seriously turned his attention to *ku wên* texts. Twenty-three fascinating passages appear for the first time in Dr. Margouliès' lucid translation.

It is admittedly difficult to draw the line, when only a certain number of Chinese ideographs are printed in an Occidental work, and while gratitude is due to Dr. Margouliès for those he has supplied, it seems a pity that he did not stretch his net a little wider. For instance, the characters would be very useful if added to the list of the thirteen main categories of *ku wên* on p. 7, where not even a transliteration of the terms



hsü 序, *lun* 論, and so on appear; the French names given to the groups in this list are necessarily arbitrary. Again, on p. 271, the characters for the name Su Shih 蘇軾, and the "fancy name" Tzū-chan 子瞻 are given, but not those for Tung-p'o 東坡, the "fancy name" of the poet most generally used.

It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of Dr. Margouliès' work; not only has he performed a service to the cause of literature, both Oriental and Occidental, but in making available a number of the texts which have played a major part in the evolution of the Chinese social structure, he has given the West the master key to an important mansion in the "city". I have already mentioned the "city" which anyone who desires the least psychological comprehension of China must explore; the "city" where dwell the spirits of men responsible for the great past of the Central Flowery State.

FLORENCE AYS COUGH.

INSCRIPTIONS DU CAMBODGE. Publiées sous les auspices de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Tomes i, ii, iii. $12\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$, pp. viii, vii, v, and cxlv plates. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1926, 1926, 1927.

Scholars are indebted to the Académie des Inscriptions, the École française de l'Extrême-Orient, M. George Groslier of the Art School of Phnom Penh, and various other persons and authorities, for this large collection of inscriptions, which is a fine supplement to those published many years ago by Barth and Bergaigne. Apart from a preface in the first volume and titles and a table of contents in each volume, the present instalment contains merely the reduced, but quite legible, facsimiles of ink-impressions of the inscriptions, some of which are in Sanskrit and others in Cambodian or in both languages. It is intended to add transcripts and translations

at a future date. In the meantime, those who are interested in either of these languages can study the texts for themselves, for the reproductions are for the most part admirably clear.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

ISLANDS OF QUEEN WILHELMINA. By VIOLET CLIFTON.
 $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xv + 288, 56 illustrations, 1 map. London :
 Constable and Co., Ltd., 1927. 18s. net.

This is a very readable account of two voyages (1912 and 1921) in the Malay Archipelago, the narrative being vivid with first impressions and local colour. Very wisely, the author has passed lightly over well-known places and enlarged on the more outlying ones off the beaten track. After crossing the relatively familiar Minangkabau and Batak regions of Sumatra, we are led in the first voyage to Nias and the Mentawai islands. The second one takes us from Bali to Minahasa and the far-off Sangi and Talaud group, then overland across Central Celebes (a real piece of hard pioneering, this), and finally on a tour through Sumbawa and Lombok, to all of which places European (and especially British) travellers seldom come.

It all makes very good reading, and it would be pedantic to lay much stress on occasional little errors in terminology, etc. Still, even the best books of travel are usually not quite free from these, and I would point out that the people of Minahasa and Sangi are no more Malays than the Icelanders are Englishmen, and likewise that the Malay term *babi rusa* grammatically means not "pig-deer" but "deer-pig", i.e. a pig that bears some outward resemblance to a deer, as in fact it does. There are a few other trifles of this sort; but they do not affect the real value of the book. The photographic illustrations are mostly very good, and there is a useful index.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

BRITISH MALAYA, 1824-1867. By L. A. MILLS. (= Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii, part ii.) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. viii + 340. Singapore, 1925.

This is a sober and well-balanced piece of historical work, based on documentary evidence, including contemporary unpublished official records, carefully studied and digested, of which a full bibliography is appended. It gives us more than is promised by the title, for several of its chapters deal with events that occurred long before the year 1824. Its greatest value lies in its contributions to local history; but the sections dealing with our political relations with the Dutch and the Siamese have a wider scope, and the chapters on piracy and the Chinese in Malaya will also interest readers who are not specially concerned with the Malay region. The list of errata by no means includes all the misprints, but this must be attributed to the fact that the author, being far away from the press, had no opportunity of giving the final touches to the correction of the proofs.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

ÜBER DIE SEMITISCHEN UND NICHT INDISCHEN GRUNDLAGEN DER MALAIISCH-POLYNESISCHEN KULTUR. Von E. E. W. GS. SCHRÖDER. Buch. I. Der Ursprung des ältesten Elementes der austronesischen Alphabete. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 9$, pp. 88. Medan: Köhler & Co., 1927.

The first thing to be said about this work is that in comparing modern Batak (and other Indonesian) writing with Semitic scripts of the seventh century B.C. it pursues a radically wrong method. Sound palæography goes to work by tracing systematically the gradual changes that have taken place in the forms of an alphabet, not by leaping over twenty-five centuries to find superficial resemblances.

This fundamental error has led the author to mishandle his materials in a very arbitrary manner. It is well known that letters often change their positions, e.g. from upright

to reclining, but one is not entitled to shift them about as one pleases in order to suit one's line of argument. For example in Table 1 (p. 27) the "square Pali" letters are tilted on to their left sides and it is suggested (pp. 18, 26) that that was their original position. But it is demonstrable that these letters are derived from a Southern variety of Brahmi, traceable to the Asoka forms. Nor is the "square Pali" type itself a particularly ancient one, for it is merely a variant of the alphabet used in Burma for Burmese and Mon. The eleventh century epigraphic form of this is a rounded and more archaic one and can be traced with absolute certainty to its Deccan ancestry.

With equally little reason the Batak letters have been similarly tilted. In their normal positions the affiliation of many of them to the Deccan scripts is still quite obvious. Set on end, some of them bear, no doubt, some resemblance to early Semitic letters. Accordingly, the author equates the Batak *h* with its opposite number in "square Pali", Phœnician, etc. Unfortunately it happens to be known from the comparative study of Batak and the cognate languages that the sound represented in Batak by this letter was originally *k*; and the letter itself, in its normal position, is plainly a *k*, showing clear affinity to the one in "square Pali" and Burmese. The modern Batak *k* is the same symbol with diacritics added to make a new *k*, after the sound represented by the original one had become changed to *h*.

There is no space here to pursue this criticism in detail through the whole alphabet, and I must let the one case I have cited serve for the whole. Having regard to the undoubtedly prolonged and intensive Indian influence which prevailed in the Malay Archipelago from about the beginning of the Christian era onwards, and to the fact that all the epigraphic material extant there from the fourth to the fourteenth century is plainly of Indian derivation, the author's thesis seems to me to be quite unarguable.

I must add a word on another branch of his argument, not fully developed in this fasciculus but apparently to be dealt with at greater length hereafter, viz. the influence of the early Semitic languages on the Indonesian forms of speech. Such "etymologies" as that of the Indonesian words for "ship", *pěrahū*, *parao*, etc. (which may, however, be suspected to be of Dravidian origin), from a Chaldaean word 'ārēbāh, and so on, do not inspire confidence. There are a good many more of the like sort.

So far as it has gone, this is not, in my opinion, a very happy example of the now fashionable efforts to trace things in general to the countries bordering the Eastern end of the Mediterranean and thereabouts without bothering much about the links in the chain. But though in absolute disagreement with the author's theories, methods, and conclusions, I cannot but admire the ingenuity of his arguments. The work is well printed and the illustration tables are extremely clear.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE MELANESIAN ISLAND LANGUAGES. By SIDNEY HERBERT RAY. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xvi + 598, 6 maps. Cambridge: University Press (for the University of Melbourne in association with the Melbourne University Press), 1926.

It is not yet certain whether the Melanesian languages, as a whole, can fairly be brought within the scope of our Society's activities. It depends on whether they can be rightly classed as being genealogically akin to the Indonesian family, which is of Asiatic affinity. The point is left more or less uncertain for the time being by the author of this excellent work, who is the leading authority on the subject of Melanesian forms of speech. After many years of collecting and sifting a very large amount of material, he gives us in this book a long series of grammars of different languages

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pp. iv, 300. 1925. 16s.
- HSUNTZE. The Moulder of Ancient Confucianism, by HOMER H. DUBS.
Cr. 8vo. pp. x, 304. 1927. £1 4s.
- HSUNTZE. Works, translated from the Chinese by HOMER H. DUBS, Ph.D.
Cr. 8vo. pp. 336. 1927. £1 4s.
- MAYERS, W. R. The Chinese Reader's Manual. A Handbook of Biographical,
Historical, Mythological, and General Literary Reference. 8vo. pp. xvi,
444. 1924. £1 10s.
- MO-TZE (MO-TI). Works, Ethical and Political, translated from the
Chinese by Y. P. MEI. In the Press.
- MO-TZE (MO-TI). His Life and Times, by Y. P. MEI. In the Press.
- W. A collection of Chinese Proverbs, revised and enlarged
by C. W. ALLAN. Chinese Text in Chinese and Roman
English Translation. 8vo. pp. vi, 381, 14. 1927. £1 4s.
- Chinese Serpent-Lore, or the Nagas in Hindu
Epic, Nagas and Buddha, Nagas in
Besides the numerous and care-
fully every story is appended
representations in plastic art, with
which these are produced.

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(and their differences are often very striking), together with a number of chapters serving to introduce the reader to the problems involved, and a brief summary of his more or less provisional conclusions. Many of the grammars are prefaced by tables giving the comparison of the Melanesian with the Indonesian forms on sound phonetic lines, and the problem of their relation to one another is fairly stated.

It is impossible to discuss these matters in detail here, but it seemed desirable to mention them. The book deals with Central Melanesia, from the Northern Solomon Islands to the Loyalty Islands (inclusive); and it is a great contribution to knowledge, to be studied in conjunction with Codrington's *The Melanesian Languages* (1885) and Kern's *De Fidjitaal* (1886, and revised and reprinted in his *Verspreide Geschriften*, vols. iv and v, 1916). The bibliographical information given in the work under review is very valuable and deserves special mention.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

NOTES SUR DES AMULETTES SIAMOISES. By M. PIERRE LEFÈVRE-PONTALIS. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibl. de Vulgarization, T. 45. Paris, 1926.

A very interesting pamphlet of 49 pp. fully illustrated by numerous photogravure plates of various types of Siamese charms and amulets.

The wearing of talismans is very widespread among the natives of Siam, especially those which are supposed to confer invulnerability on the wearer, although as the writer remarks, on page 31, the spread of the amenities of civilization is tending largely to cause a weakening of the beliefs in the powers of malignant *Phis* or spirits against whose evil influences, the wearing of some form of talisman was popularly supposed to be efficient. M. Lefèvre-Pontalis gives illustrations of amulets which are mostly in the form of little solid figures, he does not mention or illustrate the commonest

form of amulet, the *Takrut*, which consists of a thin plate of silver or gold upon which are scratched sundry magical formulæ, the plate being rolled up and strung on a small chain or cord, and worn as a rule on the wrist, chiefly by women. The author must be congratulated, however, on having produced a work of great interest and originality.

B. O. CARTWRIGHT.

A HISTORY OF SIAM. By W. A. R. WOOD. 9 × 6.
London, n.d.

This book deals with the History of Siam in great detail from the earliest times down to the accession of King Rama I, the founder of the present dynasty, who was proclaimed King in 1781. At the end of the volume there is a brief summary of the chief events occurring during the reigns of the kings of the present dynasty down to the accession of H.M. King Prajadhipok, the present monarch of Siam.

This is the first connected history of that most interesting country that has ever been compiled. Other historical accounts of Siam have been written in the past, but they refer to certain periods only.

The author must be warmly congratulated on having produced a work of great excellence and a highly readable account of the vicissitudes of the country, more especially as the records extant of early Siam are very fragmentary owing to the destruction of practically everything in the shape of native records by the Burmese in 1767. The book is illustrated by several plates of interest.

The author remarks in his preface that he may, at some future date, undertake the detailed history of Modern Siam. It is greatly to be hoped that he will do so, and thus form the complementary volume to his present excellent work.

B. O. CARTWRIGHT.

AN ASIAN ARCADE. By REGINALD LE MAY. 10 × 6½.
Cambridge, 1926.

This most interesting book deals with the peoples and districts of North-Western Siam. The author divides the work into three parts, (a) Historical; giving a concise narration of the happenings in the Laos country from the earliest times down to the present day; (b) Topographical and Ethnological; in which he describes the journey from Bangkok to Chiangmai and gives an interesting summary of the life and customs, religion and other matters pertaining to the inhabitants; (c) Travel; being an account of the author's journey from Chiangmai to Chiengsen, a town in the extreme north of Siam, and returning to Chiangmai by way of Nan and Prae. This latter section is the finest part of the book, and each chapter is supplemented by folk-lore tales of the Laos people which are here related with singular charm of style.

The author must be congratulated on having produced a work of deep interest about a little-known land. He has resided for very many years in Siam, and is therefore in a position to give results of accurate knowledge and observation.

The book is splendidly illustrated by many excellent photogravures, and a very charming reproduction in colours of a view of Chiangmai, painted by the author's wife.

It is also very pleasing to note how the author lays stress on the correct pronunciation of the word "Laos", which so many of our American friends habitually mispronounce in a sadly barbaric manner. In fine, "An Asian Arcady" can be confidently recommended to all those who are interested in matters pertaining to Siam and her neighbours.

B. O. CARTWRIGHT.

MY JOURNEY TO LHASA. By ALEXANDRA DAVID-NEEL.
Demy 8vo. Illustrated with many photographs taken by
the author. London: William Heinemann, 1927.

In her introduction Madame David-Neel informs her readers that what mainly decided her to go to Lhasa was not

research, but "the absurd prohibition, which closes Thibet" to foreigners, and which had on a previous occasion in 1921 led to her being turned back into Chinese territory after she had successfully crossed the border from Jakyendo, the Jyekundo of the Indian Survey map. This remarkable journey through south-east Tibet to Lhasa, dealt with in her book, was her fifth into Tibet. Before it she had for many years pursued her researches in the "literature, philosophy, and secret lore of Thibet". She had met the Dalai Lama in exile at Kalimpong and had been the welcome guest of the Penchen or Tashi Lama at Tashilhumpo. For more than two years she had studied in the celebrated Kum-Bum monastery in Amdo, where Huc and Gabet spent three months in 1845. She had even been initiated by hermit-masters of *yōga* into their mystic lore, including the strange art whereby naked anchorites preserve their bodily heat, while sitting motionless through the night out on the snow of their high mountain retreats exposed to the piercing winter blasts.

So, when in 1923-4, under the guise of poor pilgrims, she and her adopted son Yongden, a young Red Cap lama, with nothing but what they could themselves carry, tramped their way through a little known part of Tibet and stayed two months in Lhasa without being detected, about a year after Dr. McGovern's visit, she was exceptionally well qualified to observe and describe the many aspects and incidents of everyday Tibetan life with which her narrative abounds. A special feature of this book is her delightfully intimate and humorous presentation, often in the form of dialogue between her and Yongden, of encounters on the road with other wayfarers, villagers, robbers, and petty officials; and at Lhasa with humble inhabitants and pilgrims. On occasions the risk of discovery was great, but her beggar's rôle served her well, and her presence of mind always carried her through. When a Lhasa policeman hit her with his truncheon, she was delighted at this fresh evidence of the security of her incognito. Once only did she as a last resort have to use her automatic

pistol, when attacked by robbers. On another occasion her invocation of terrific deities effected the immediate restoration of a few rupees stolen from Yongden by a robber band, and it was her resource, determination, and endurance, rather than good luck, that brought her dangerous venture to a successful issue.

Geographically the achievement was no mean one, but the reader would more easily be able to appreciate this, had even a sketch map been provided. A general indication of the route may be of interest. The place names are spelt as in the book. The journey started from the Mekong valley, over the Kha Karpo range by the Dokar pass, about 230 miles south-south-east of Chiamdo; then up the Salween valley and over the watershed into the unexplored upper Po valley, or *Po yul*, deservedly notorious, as the travellers found, for its ferocious brigand inhabitants. In the summer of 1921 at Jakyendo the late Brigadier-General Pereira, pointing to *Po yul* on his map, had remarked to Madame David-Neel: "Nobody has ever been there, there may be several accessible passes above the spring of the river—it would be an interesting way to Lhasa." From *Po yul* the route taken early in 1924 lay through Pome, previously visited by Bailey and Morshead, and up the Tongyuk valley. Here a startling encounter with a mysterious hermit, who knew Madame David-Neel, led her to change her direction, so she then proceeded down the Tongyuk, over the Temo pass to the Brahmaputra, and up the Giamda valley to Giamda town on the main Chiamdo-Lhasa road. Later in the same year Mr. Kingdon Ward and Earl Cawdor also covered this ground. From Giamda to Lhasa and via Gyantze to India the roads are well known.

Though most of the illustrations in the book are from Madame David-Neel's photos taken on other journeys in Tibetan lands, when circumstances were more favourable for the use of a camera, they form a welcome addition here. No index is given. Typographical errors are commendably few, and the phonetic system of spelling Tibetan names and words

followed is consistent and easy for the reader unacquainted with the intricacies of Tibetan spelling.

This book is popular in scope and addressed rather to the general reader than to the Orientalist, who, however, will find here and there much of interest. As noted before, it contains several first-hand allusions to the mysticism and magic of modern Tibet, that amazing heritage from the days of Tilo, Naro, and Milaraspa. Madame David-Neel, moreover, promises a full account of these matters in a separate work devoted to religion and superstitions. This will be eagerly awaited, and will, we hope, convince those who may be sceptical about what we are here told of Tibetan mysticism.

H. LEE SHUTTLEWORTH.

ENGLISH-TÜRKİ DICTIONARY, BASED ON THE DIALECTS OF KASHGAR AND YARKAND. By G. RAQUETTE. 10 × 7, ii + 139 pp. C. W. K. Gleerup, Lund, and O. Harrassowitz, Leipzig. 1927.

This book, which is one of the *Årsskrift* of the University of Lund, is of great interest and importance for students of the comparative philology of the Turkish dialects, to whom Dr. Raquette is already well-known as an expert on modern Eastern Türki. It is the first dictionary of any size of an European language translated into a dialect of this kind, and as there are some 13,000 Türki words and expressions arranged under 3,500 English words it follows naturally that a number of these Türki words appear here in print for the first time.

The most interesting feature is the number of extremely ancient words which still survive in this dialect though long since forgotten elsewhere. A curious example is the translation of "bow" (the weapon) *yār* (*yā*). The original form was *yā*, and the more popular incorrect form *yār* seems to have been introduced under the influence of the Persian word *yār*, "friend," at a time when people were beginning

to wonder whether a monosyllable ending in \bar{a} could possibly be a correct form.

For all its virtues, however, this excellent work suffers from certain minor defects which it will be well to mention here in case a second edition should give an opportunity for correction :—

(1) Although the system of transliteration is careful and elaborate there is unfortunately no guide in the preface or elsewhere to the value of the symbols employed.

(2) The case governed by verbs is mentioned only in exceptional cases.

(3) There are one or two unexpected omissions, for instance no translation is given for “to” or “in order to”.

(4) In a few cases words which are ambiguous in English are shown without closer indication of the meaning. “Bow” mentioned above is a case in point, and “to bear” is translated *kötärmäk* and *toqmaq* without indicating that the first is “to carry” and the second “to give birth to”.

G. L. M. CLAUSEN.

TSCHEREMISSISCHE TEXTE (Vol. I, Text; Vol. II, Übersetzung).

By ERNST LEWY. 64 and 74 pp., 3 plates. Heinz Lafaire, Hanover. 1926.

The sixty Cheremiss texts, which are transcribed with the greatest care according to a very precise system of transliteration, were collected by the translator during the war from eleven Russian prisoners of war, of six of whom photographs (profile and full-face) are attached. Accompanied as they are by translations they will be of considerable interest to Finno-Ugrian students, but it is a little surprising that the translator should not have found it necessary or desirable to add any notes except a certain number dealing solely with phonetics.

G. L. M. CLAUSEN.

LES BARBARES : DES GRANDES INVASIONS AUX CONQUÊTES
TURQUES DU XI^e SIÈCLE. By LOUIS HALPHEN. 9 × 5½,
390 pp. Librairie Félix Alcan. Paris. 1926.

This work is Vol. V of the series "Peuples et Civilizations, Histoire Générale", edited by the author and M. Philippe Sagnac; it comprises a summary of the history of Europe and Western Asia from the fourth to the eleventh century A.D. In the space available the author has naturally been able to give only the most brief summary of the events of so long and complicated a period, but with this limitation the work is competently done and the author has taken care to give a full list of authorities, including the most recent, in each chapter.

G. L. M. CLAUSEN.

OSKAR VON NIEDERMAYER. AFGHANISTAN. Mit 246 Abbildungen in Kupfertiefdruck und 9 skizzen. Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, 1924. Sm. folio. xvi, 70, 246. £4.

Among those whom the fortunes of the War carried into strange lands was also the author of this sumptuous volume. He had been travelling before in the East, and was well acquainted with the habits and customs of the peoples with which he came in contact. As an experienced traveller, he had a keen eye for all the specific characteristics of land and people. As he remarks in his introduction, a string of camels along the plain, or one of pack horses on the snow-clad ridge of a mountain did not attract him; but he was much more alive to a hut built of reeds, or to a row of elephants, or the beggar in rags, or the dervishes in their peculiar dress. And so he spent the year from 1916-17 in travelling through Afghanistan with a camera in his hand, and taking full advantage of the kindness of the people, of whom he cannot speak too highly. He neither had a political axe to grind, nor did he wish to weave for himself the halo of an adventurous traveller. Thus he undertakes to give in this book a sober and impartial description of what he saw and experienced in

that strange land. In brief outlines he sketches the geographical and geological conformation, the divisions of the country, the system of administration, the economic life of the people, and he does not fail to pay special attention to the artistic wood-carvings, metal-work, and the like found in public buildings or in private houses. Special chapters are devoted to Buddhist and Islamic remains. The real importance of the work lies now in the artistic reproductions of all that is of interest in Afghanistan. No less than 243 full-sized plates, which look almost like copper-plates, give us a complete insight into all that is worth seeing or knowing of Afghanistan. Most of these plates are pictures of Kabul, Kandahar, and Herat. Every important building, every ancient fortress, every noteworthy ruin, and many beautiful landscapes are here faithfully reproduced. In addition we see the Army chiefs in their military array, the Emir's elephants decked in royal apparel: and on the other hand, the smith, the melon-vendor, the bazaars in their various aspects, the hunter, the car drawn by bullocks, the dancing-girl, the lender of narghilehs, peasant women, street music, and nomads with their tents. The author also gives us illustrations of famous tombs, places of pilgrimage, many minarets, and above all the sanctuary of Ali Mesar-i-Sherif in Herat. No attempt can be made to exhaust here even remotely the wealth of these illustrations, which are true to Nature and not the work of an imaginative painter. These all reveal the unexpected beauty of many of the monuments in Afghanistan, the life of the people, and the wild beauty of many of the mountainous parts, hitherto untrodden by Europeans. There are in addition three maps, one of Afghanistan, the second of Kabul, and the third of Herat, probably the first ever drawn; and nine pen-and-ink sketches in the text itself. A copious geographical index enriches this fine publication, which for its artistic merit and accurate information is sure to retain a very high place in the literature of Afghanistan.

M. GASTER.

AN ETYMOLOGICAL VOCABULARY OF PASHTO. By Dr. GEORG MORGENSTIERNE. viii, 120 pp. Oslo, 1927.

If a book is to be valued for its usefulness, Dr. Morgenstierne's *Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto* assuredly takes a high place. He has laid for ever more than one bogey by giving us an epoch-making work. This erudite and conscientious exposition of an obscure subject will show the student that a Jewish origin for the Afghān is a hopeless argument. We were already deeply indebted to continental scholars for the help and guidance given us in the matter of oriental languages. The names of Geiger, Horn, and a host of others are known to us all, and remembered with due reverence. Dr. Morgenstierne has surpassed them all in his own particular line. And this in spite of the fact that the study of these languages means much more to us than it does to the continental scholar. We *must* know them if we are to govern successfully. The learned Doctor has earned our deepest gratitude for all time.

Now that the veriest tyro knows where this language was first spoken it becomes an easy matter to decide where the early Afghāns dwelt, dwelt for centuries, whose subjects they were, and other details. The Afghāns are a virile people, and withal rebellious and troublesome from youth to old age. It is not unlikely, therefore, that their untoward activities led to their wholesale expulsion from their native land at some time or other. We all know that such expulsions have taken place, not once, but many times. The outstanding facts got from the learned Doctor's work are that the Afghāns spoke the language of Ancient Persia, and that they dwelt in that land or on its confines for a very long time. It was not merely a case of passing through Persia in search of a new home. The Afghān is the last man in the world to adopt the language of a stranger. When he does take anything he takes it by force.

Against some of the terms given in this undoubtedly useful work the author has remarked, "Etym. unknown." It will

be found, however, that something like eighty per cent of these hail from one or other of the Indian Prakrits. Take a few examples :—

Chūt, flat, etc., comes from the Hin. *chit*, which means exactly the same thing. In the Pashto the vowel has been lengthened.

Kāgh, cunning, comes from the Hin. *kāg*, *kāgā*, a crow, the most cunning of all birds. In India proper a cunning individual is very often compared to a "crow". The change from *g* to *gh* is natural.

Kāra, a large wooden vessel, is connected with the Lah. *karāh*, *karāhā*, and the Hin. *kārāhī*. It is found in Sin. also.

Kat, a heap, pile, is seen in the Hin. *khatā*, *khāt*, *khātā*, a heap or pile. The aspirate has been dropped and the vowel shortened.

Khula, *khūla*, the mouth, an opening, comes from the Lah. *kholā*, hollow, empty, or, if it please you better, we may connect it with the Hin. intrans. verb *khulnā*, to open, or the trans. verb *hholnā*, to open. The respective past participles are *khulā* and *kholā*.

Khwardal, *ghwardal*, to open, expand, as a flower, is the Lah. verb *khīr-*, to open, bud, flower. Both verbs mean the same thing.

Konr, etc., a large tick, is the Hin. *kilnī*, a tick, or the Hin. *kana*, a weevil.

Lalūn, weeding, is derived from the Hin. *nalānā*, *nārāna*, *nirānā*, to weed. The letters *l* and *r* are interchangeable.

Langa, puerperal, we take it comes from the Hin. *laṅg*, *laṅgt*, loin-cloth. The connexion requires no explanation.

Lara, mist, fog, may be seen in the Sin. *luru*, *lurātu*, mist, fog.

Lāra, saliva, spittle, is derived from the Hin. *rāl*, or from the Skr. *lālā*, both of which mean the same thing. *L* and *r* are interchangeable.

Pal, a millstone, is probably seen in the Sin. *puru* : *chakiā jo puru*, the stone of the mill, mill-stone. See Stack's Dictionary, p. 101.

And so we might go on. The chief difficulty in tracing these words will be found to be due to what we are pleased to term metathesis. The Afghān delights in transposing letters and in changing certain sounds. It may be that he wishes to get at something which he can more easily pronounce. But this is certainly not always clear. It is much more likely to be due to the fact that he *is* an Afghān, and intends to remain such for all time ; let the world take note.

GEORGE WATERS GILBERTSON.

THE BHAKTA-MĀLA OF NĀBHĀ-JĪ, with the *Ṭīkā* of Priyā-dāsa, and with a commentary entitled the *Bhakti-Sudhā-Svādu* of Śrī Śītārāma-śaraṇa Bhagavān Prasād (Rūp-kalā). pp. 996. Nawal Kishor Press, Lucknow, 1926. Rs. 3-12.

Students of Indian religions will be glad to learn that a third edition of this work has issued from the well-known Lucknow Press. Nābhā's *Bhakta-māla*, or "Lives of the Saints" with its *Ṭīkā* by Priyā-dāsa is one of the most difficult books in Hindī, and *Śītārāma-śaraṇa Bhagavān Prasād's* commentary is far the best that has been published. To all who desire to master the developments of the *Bhakti*-cult in Northern India it is indispensable. Every line of it can be studied with profit, and this is rendered easy by the completeness and clarity of his explanations.

G. A. G.

JOURNAL OF FRANCIS BUCHANAN (afterwards HAMILTON).

Kept during the Survey of the Districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811-1812. Edited with Notes and Introduction by V. H. JACKSON, M.A. 10 × 6½, pp. xxxix + 250, with 4 plans, 2 plates, and map. Patna : Government, B. and O., Press, 1925.

This volume comprises a reprint of the Journal published in vol. viii, parts iii and iv, of the *JBORS.*, with the addition of an appendix containing reprints of important notes recorded by Mr. Jackson on some of the localities visited by Buchanan, and reproductions of two old plans of Patna City.

Mr. Jackson's local knowledge and the experience acquired in the course of his own researches of a similar character specially fitted him for the task of editor, and we can only wish that he could have had more leisure from heavy official duties to amplify his foot-notes. His Introduction forms an invaluable guide to an understanding of the conditions under which, and the lines upon which, Buchanan worked, and bears the testimony of a modern scientific man to the value and accuracy of the work done.

The area dealt with by Buchanan in this Journal does not correspond exactly with the present districts of Patna and Gaya, as might appear from the title-page, but with the then districts of Behar and Patna, which included the whole of the present district of Patna, most of the present Gaya district (excluding several *parganas* in the south-west thereof) and the western portion of the present Monghyr district. Buchanan's inquiries have already proved a prolific source of information for subsequent *Accounts* and *Gazetteers*, as well as for more recent archæological research; but much remains to be followed up. His description in this Journal (under date 14th January, 1812) of his visit to the cave north of Hāṇṛiā village, where *śilajit* was obtained, enabled Mr. Jackson to identify Yuan Chwang's "Buddhavana Mountain"—an important identification, if only that it serves to corroborate Stein's identification in 1899 of the Kukkuṭapadagiri—and, moreover, led to Mr. Jackson's further valuable inquiries into the nature of the substance known as *śilajit*, or *śilajatu* (see Appendices, pp. 235, 237). As elsewhere in South Bihar, Buchanan carefully recorded the temperatures of the water in all the hot-springs occurring near his routes; in fact, he made special trips for this purpose. Mr. Jackson has made a close study of these temperatures during the past twenty years, the results of which it is hoped may yet be published. Space will permit of reference to only two or three more items of information, out of many that invite notice.

Buchanan's account of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh Gayā is particularly interesting, more especially having regard to comparatively recent developments there. Referring to the broad upper terrace, on the west (not "east", as on page 58, fifth line from bottom) of which grew the sacred *pīpal* tree, or *bodhidruma*, he writes:—"The original stairs leading up to the terrace were through the porch which has fallen . . . but the access to a holy place through a heterodox temple appeared so improper to the Mahrattah who repaired the terrace that he has constructed a new stair on the outside." He gave a similar account in a paper read before the R.A.S. in May, 1827, when he explained that these outer stairs had been made "so that the orthodox may pass up without entering the porch, and thus seeing the hateful image of Buddha". The local practice no longer stands upon these "ancient ways". The broad terrace with the *pīpal* tree and the circular heap of brick and plaster "in various concentric stages" are clearly shown in Sir C. D'Oyly's two sketches drawn at Bodh Gayā in 1828.

Then there is his interesting description of the remains he saw at Sānwas (p. 88), a place now in the Monghyr district about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.E. by N. of Durgāpur Pārvatī, and 3 miles W. of Māldah. As far as I am aware, no exploration of this or adjacent sites has yet been made by the Archæological Department. An examination of the conical heap of bricks that seemed to Buchanan to be like the ruin of "a solid temple of the Buddhists" (i.e. a *stūpa*) and of other remains in the vicinity may yet prove of assistance in tracing Yuan Chwang's route between "Indra's Cave Mountain" and the *I-lan-na-po-fa-to* country. Cunningham in the cold season of 1861-2 traced a portion of a big embankment, or raised roadway, which he calls the "Asuren Embankment" (*ASI*, vol. i, map facing p. 16), for about 2 miles running W. by S. from the village of Sīthaurā towards the modern village of Rājgīr. "From Singhaul," Buchanan writes, "I followed a very grand old road attributed to the infidel Jarasandha,

and on that account called the Asuren." Singhaul is a village some 6 miles W. by S. of Rājgīr, and Buchanan was travelling eastwards towards Rājgīr. It was probably a continuation of this old roadway that Cunningham has marked on his map; and it is 10 miles from Singhaul to Sithaurā. It is likely that this embankment served the double purpose of a highway and a dyke forming an extensive reservoir of water between it and the hills on the south.

We miss a table of contents, and could wish that the Press had used better paper. The index has not been completed so as to cover the appendices.

C. E. A. W. O.

A CONSTRUCTIVE SURVEY OF UPANISHADIC PHILOSOPHY.
Being a Systematic Introduction to Indian Metaphysics.
By R. D. RANADE, M.A., Director Academy of Philosophy
and Religion, formerly Professor of Philosophy, Fergusson
College, Poona. 10 x 7, pp. 438. Oriental Book
Agency, Poona, 1926. Rs. 10.

The author of this very valuable work gives as its aim *the systematic exposition of all the problems that emerge from the discussion of Upanishadic thought in their manifold bearings, or, alternatively, the presentation of the teaching of the Upanishads according to the methods of Western thought, or again, to put into the hands of Orientalists a new method for treating the problems of Indian Philosophy.* Yet the ultimate purpose of the work is the spiritual purpose. The writer is a competent philosophical thinker and also a very able expositor. The serious student of things Indian will find the work truly illuminating.

Every one who loves India must rejoice to see an Indian scholar do his utmost to set forth clearly and comprehensibly the whole of the rich contents of the loftiest section of Hindu literature; European method and scholarship are certainly indispensable for such a task; but the Indian heart, bred on Indian spiritual nourishment, is more likely to be able to understand these things in their depths than the European. Therefore the volume is doubly welcome.

Chapter I, *The Background*, is introductory, and will be found really valuable both as regards the history behind the documents and also the philosophy. The fourth chapter sets forth in detail, with a good deal of helpful exposition, the portions of the Upanishads from which the formed philosophies of India arose during later centuries. The other chapters discuss Upanishad teaching under the headings of Cosmogony, Psychology, Metaphysics, Ethics, and Mysticism; and will be found to throw a great deal of light on the ancient texts.

The author lays considerable stress on the value of the moral teaching of the Upanishads; but there is no passage in the book which dispassionately considers the ethical value of the ascetic life which, in the Upanishads, is regarded as necessary for the man who seeks to realize the supreme Ātman. This surely is rather a serious omission.

The Chronology suggested does not strike the historical inquirer as the strongest element in the book. The writer's date for the Upanishads is given in the words, *Considering the Upanishadic age to have been placed somewhere between 1200 B.C. and 600 B.C.*¹ while, in writing of the relation of the hymns of the *Rigveda* to the philosophical texts, he says *they must be regarded as having preceded them by a period of over a thousand years.*² Since serious European writers, eager to reach historical truth, have suggested later dates, and have given the reasons on which their judgments rest, one wonders much why the learned Director has not set forth, even briefly, the considerations which seem to him to prove the much earlier origin of the documents. Bare dogmatic statements are not likely to weigh with historical students.

Yet the volume as a whole is to be very seriously welcomed as a great effort and a great achievement.

J. N. FARQUHAR.

¹ P. 13.

² P. 2.

BUDDHISM AND ITS PLACE IN THE MENTAL LIFE OF MANKIND. By DR. PAUL DAHLKE. London: Macmillan and Co., 1927.

ESSAYS IN ZEN BUDDHISM. By DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI. (First Series.) London: Luzac and Co., 1927.

Both these works are intended to show us Buddhism as a religion which even to-day may appeal to man's religious instincts. The first offers us the "pure, original Buddha-word, as it is laid down in the Pāli Canon". The author disclaims anything of a philological nature, and apparently does not see that his whole book involves a philological assumption. But it possesses the charm of a quite personal appeal made by one to whom the Buddha is the final fulfiller of all mental life. "What I myself have learnt and experienced as the most important thing of all, in this book I endeavour to pass on to others."

Professor Suzuki's book is less subjective. It is an exposition of Buddhism as understood by the Zen Buddhists, and there is little here about the pure Buddha-word. Zen principles are said to be most directly expounded in the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*, but Zen does not base its authority on any written documents. The real author of the school, we are told, is Bodhidharma in the sixth century, though Zen in the form in which we have it dates from the sixth patriarch, Hui-neng. Hence there is good reason for the claim that in spite of its Indian name (zen = dhyāna), it is "the native product of the Chinese mind". When we are further told that *satori*, the essence of Buddhism, is "an intuitive looking into the nature of things, in contradistinction to the analytical or logical understanding", it is clear that we have to deal with a form of mysticism. No doubt the question of the relative importance of logic and intuition is a matter of temperament, but it is easy to understand the strength of this Chinese intuitional protest against logic, seeing that the only logical achievements which it had in view were the systems of Chinese philosophers.

The book consists of eight essays, which are intended to remove difficulties and form an intelligent approach to the subject. This is, as the author points out, a very different thing from mastering Zen. But as a clear exposition of an independent form of mysticism developed in Chinese thought, it will be of the greatest interest to students of the history of religion and religious experience.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

RULERS OF THE INDIAN OCEAN. By ADMIRAL G. A. BALLARD, C.B. Duckworth, 21s. net.

Admiral Ballard, formerly Director of the Operations Division of the Admiralty War Staff, is a practised historian whose previous essays on naval history are well known in this country. He has set himself to elucidate the maritime history of the Indian Ocean from the earliest time until the present, and has placed his conclusions before us in this book. He has had the assistance of Sir William Foster in dealing with the events of the fourteenth and succeeding centuries, which is the best possible guarantee of the historical accuracy of his narrative for this crucial period. The whole book, moreover, has already appeared, except for the concluding chapter, in the *Mariners' Mirror*, and has, the author informs us, already passed under the notice of some very competent critics, whom, he says, have raised no question as to the accuracy of statements made, except in regard to two points, which he briefly mentions.

In the absence of an Index, or a Bibliography, or, with few exceptions, any reference whether in the text or in footnotes to the sources of information relied on, particularly for the pre-historic and very early periods, it is difficult for a scholar or student, and still more for a reviewer, to express a decided opinion as to the degree of authority to be attached to Admiral Ballard's conclusions on many points. In the first chapter, for example, he gives his reasons for regarding the Indian Ocean as the birthplace of both branches of the

mariner's occupation, viz. coasting and deep water sailing. He does not mention the claims of Polynesia in this connexion as put forward by G. Elliot Smith (*Journal of the Manchester, Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1915-16), nor does he refer to General Pitt-Rivers' memoir (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. iv, 1874-5, p. 339), which still remains, in the reviewer's opinion, the best authority on early modes of navigation, nor to a number of other memoirs of great value by recent workers in this fascinating field, quoted by Elliot Smith and not unknown to students. He states (p. 6) that the Mecca traders pushed their way eastwards so that by the ninth and tenth centuries they had reached the Malay Archipelago, "whence in time they found their way to China itself." He does not mention Renaudot's *Ancient Account of India and China by Two Mohammedan Travellers—translated from the Arabic* (1733), which refers to a great massacre of Mohammedan Jews, Christians, and Parsees to the number of 120,000 at Canfu (sc. Canton) in A.D. 877. Sulaiman the merchant refers to merchants of Iraq as trading regularly with China in the same century, which suggest a greater antiquity for this trade than Admiral Ballard allows (see also C. S. K. Mylrea, *The Moslem World*, April, 1922, p. 170).

He mentions (p. 213) that the Persians never had any navy in spite of all their wealth, military power, and extent of coastline. Yet Persia conquered and held Muscat and Bahrain, Hasa and Hofu Hufuf for a century or more to such effect that the Persian language is the basis of at least one dialect of Northern Oman and the record of Persian skill in public works, such as wells and underground water channels, is to be found along the whole Oman coast to Ras al Hadd, as well as in Bahrain and Hasa. Nearchus had no difficulty in obtaining a pilot ere he reached the mouth of the Persian Gulf, which suggests the coastal navigation was well developed before his arrival, whilst from at least as early as the sixteenth century until the present day the pilotage of the Shatt-al-Arab bar was almost exclusively in the hands of Persians from the Island

of Kharag and later from Bushire. The real reason for Persian backwardness in the art of navigation is to be found in the absence of navigable rivers, and of timber suitable for ship-building. Nadir Shah's attempt to create a fleet in the Persian Gulf with timber carried from the Caspian for the purpose will be remembered in this connexion.

In his concluding chapter (p. 293) he writes that no part whatever in the long, costly and dangerous enterprise of making the Indian Ocean safe for the natives of India fell on the native himself, and on the next page he states that Moslems have relied "for generations" on the security by sea provided by the British white ensign, and adds that the repression of piracy was carried out from first to last by Britain.

Admiral Ballard, though himself born in India, ignores the work of the Indian Navy which, till its abolition in 1862,¹ bore the burden of the day in Indian waters, and of its predecessor, the marine forces of the H.E.I. Company; indeed the Indian Navy is not, as far as the reviewer can ascertain, once mentioned in his pages. Yet it was the Indian Navy, manned mainly by Indian ratings, that made the charts of the coasts of India, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf on which we rely to-day. Indian seamen and Indian soldiers bore the brunt of our early steps in conjunction with the Turks for the repression of the Chaab pirates at the head of the Persian Gulf. Indian troops helped to exterminate the pirates of Ras-el-Khaimah at the beginning of the nineteenth century and did most of the fighting then and ever since on the shores of the Persian Gulf, as witness the pages of Low's *History of the Indian Navy*. At least ten

¹ The Secretary of State, in his despatch of 30th August, 1861, testified to the efficiency with which the Indian Navy had discharged the various local duties for which it was mainly organized, adding that it had been constantly employed at a distance from India in the suppression of piracy and of the slave trade, and also in regular warfare in association with the Royal Navy in China, Borneo, and New Zealand without cost to the British Exchequer. He added that the Royal Navy could spare few ships for service in Eastern seas (Welby Report, 1900).

times as many Indians as Englishmen have died or been killed in the service of the East India Company and of the Crown in the Indian Ocean and adjacent seas, not in the protection or defence of any primarily Indian interest but in order to maintain the freedom of the seas (in the true and not the Wilsonian sense) and the abolition of African slave trade, the latter a primarily European ideal. Nor as Admiral Ballard states (p. 297) was the British Navy maintained exclusively at the cost of the British tax-payer, for the Government of India has paid to the Imperial Exchequer since 1869 a very substantial subvention, which since 1901 has been fixed at £100,000 (*vide* Welby Report Cd. 131, 1900).

Space precludes reference to other points of great interest suggested by a perusal of this book, but perhaps sufficient has been written to show that it cannot be accepted throughout as an authoritative exposition of the whole period dealt with, whilst the absence of an index and of critical apparatus impair its value as a contribution to our knowledge of an exceedingly important chapter of world history.

A. T. WILSON.

WEST-INDONESIEN. SUMATRA, JAVA, BORNEO. Von Professor Dr. AUGUSTIN KRÄMER. 12 × 9, pp. 104 (including xlv illustration plates and 2 maps). Stuttgart : Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung [1927]. 16.50 marks.

This is vol. iii of the "Atlas der Völkerkunde", the previous volumes of which were devoted to Northern and Central Asia and Europe, respectively. After a brief preface, a table of contents, and an introduction, the odd pages 13-101 are illustration plates, facing the letterpress opposite to them. The illustrations are line drawings, which, though suitable for architecture and artefacts generally, are less adequate for the representation of human types. The title is not a complete indication of the contents, for these include, besides the minor

islands adjacent to Sumatra and Java, the Hova part of Madagascar and the Andaman and Nicobar groups as well. This arrangement cannot be justified from a purely ethnographical or a purely geographical point of view, but only by a compromise between the two. Moreover, the statement (p. 14) that the Nicobarese belong to the "Malay stock" is highly doubtful; linguistically, at any rate, they are akin to Mon-Khmer. On the other hand, the Malay Peninsula is left out, though it would have fitted very well both ethnographically and geographically into the framework of the book.

The greatest gap, however, is the omission, in dealing with Sumatra, of the Malays proper, which is rather like cutting Hamlet out of the play that bears his name. They are indeed mentioned incidentally on p. 50 as being akin to the Minangkabau people, but that is pretty much like putting a mere mention of England and the English into the chapter on Scotland of a work dealing in detail with the inhabitants of the British Isles generally. There is, by the way, no sound basis for the twice-repeated etymology of the name Malay (pp. 7, 50) as meaning "wanderers": it was the definitely local name of a certain region in Sumatra, and can be traced back as such to the seventh century A.D. But the author's conception, for which I know of no justification, is that the Malays were the first migrants from Southern Asia to the islands and were driven (as is suggested on p. 8 and in the publishers' leaflet) into the interior by later comers, such as the Gayo, Alas, and Minangkabau peoples. As applied to the communities which alone are really entitled to the name Malay, this is pretty well a reversal of the known facts, for they are very largely a coast people and have expanded at the expense of others. In his introduction the author, when discussing the various layers of culture that he claims to distinguish in the Austronesian area, denotes the earliest of the clearly Asiatic cultures that entered it by the name "Old Malay". Whether this is to be regarded as a mere misnomer

or as the result of a confusion of ideas, it is in my opinion an unfortunate terminology.

It is only fair to add that the selection of objects for illustration is good and that the explanatory text gives in a small space a great deal of ethnographical information conveyed in an easily intelligible way. The bibliographies appended to the various sections, and the general one on p. 104, will be very useful for reference to the original sources of the work.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

DIE SONNE UND MITHRA IM AWESTA. Auf Grund der awestischen Feuerlehre dargestellt von JOHANNES HERTEL. (Indo-Iranische Quellen und Forschungen, Heft IX.) $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. xxviii + 318 pp. Leipzig: Haessel, 1927.

In this interesting volume the cult of Mithra and the Sun in the Avesta is treated by the author on a wider background, namely the general principles of religious thought, or more accurately of *Weltanschauung*, among the early Indo-Iranians. The boldness and ability with which he has handled these subjects justify us in devoting some space to a summary of his views, which in this book are set forth with greater fullness than in his previous writings.

When the ancestors of the Indo-Iranian tribes first moved down, a number of them settled in the fertile pastures around the Hamūn Lake in Eastern Iran, and waged lively wars of self-defence against other kindred tribes, who were continually pressing on after them, and who, pushed into the more barren valleys on the north and north-east, carried on fierce wars and cattle-raids against the settlers in the Hamūn district. It was in this region and among these freebooting wanderers that the greater part of the R̥g-vēda was composed, in order to win the aid of the gods in their wars and forays. Most of these Vedic tribes gradually spread into India; but a branch of them moved westward and have left their traces in the Mitannian inscriptions of Boghazköi of c. 1380 B.C.

Despite local differences in details, these Iranian and Vedic tribes held the same general conception of nature and deity. They worshipped fire, with its warmth and light (Vedic *ṛtá*, Avesti *aša*), as universal principle of Good in both bodily and spiritual life; and in opposition to this they postulated an evil fire, dark and cold (Av. *druj* "harm", and *nasu*, "decay") as the principle animating all harmful beings and things. Between these two orders an everlasting struggle goes on. When a body animated by the good fire is penetrated and infected by the evil fire, it perishes, and similarly the good fire may overpower the evil and cause death in those possessed by it. In both orders there are divine beings, of which some are purely spiritual, i.e. composed wholly of good or evil fire, and therefore immortal, while others are of fire mingled with grosser matter (Av. *gaēthya*, *astvant*) and on death lose their earthly admixture and become immortal either as gods in the Heaven of Light or as devils in hell below the earth. The "gods" (**daivas*, Ved. *dēvās*) are simply embodiments of the Supreme Fire, which also manifests itself in the light of heaven (Av. *savah*), the light of wealth (Av. *aši*), "glory" (Av. *xvarənah*), i.e. lightning and the majesty of kings and conquerors, etc. While in their spiritual essence all gods are alike, viz. the heavenly fire in different manifestations, they may mingle themselves with many material bodies in partial incarnation (as later in the Hindu *aṁśavatāras*) without ceasing to exist at the same time in individual personalities. Spirits of the dark order may incarnate themselves similarly. The fire of deities of the bright order is either luminous or non-luminous. Non-luminous fire is also present in man's body, as the *agnī vaiśvānará* of the Upaniṣads, which is said in *Śat. Br.*, i, iv, 1, 10 ff., to have been carried in his mouth by Māthava Vidēgha,¹ and is the

¹ Dr. Hertel holds that the Sarasvatī from which Māthava is said to have started on his journey is the Arachotus, and that hence the story points to the movement of a Vedic tribe from Eastern Iran eastwards not long before the composition of the *Śat. Br.*, which was quite late, as it shows Middle Persian phonetics in the name *Ba.hika*.

same as the Vedic *bráhma* (etym. = $\phi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\mu\alpha$, **bhleǵhm̥*), which originally denoted generally the fire burning within man and later was claimed by the priests as peculiar to their class, whence came their title *brāhmaṇa*; and it likewise appears in *Sōma*, semen, rain, waters, milk, urine (whence the use of urine in exorcism and the cult of the *liṅga* and *yōni*), gold, mountains, curses, and sacred texts. Divine beings and persons who know sacred texts by heart are styled in Av. *tanu-māθra* "having a body composed of hymns" (cf. *Suparnādhyāya*, I, i, 2). "Soul" is a group of powers, all of them forms of fire. When man dies, the fiery elements (in *Vēda*, and sometimes in Av. also, the whole man converted into fire) pass into the Fire-Heaven as a personal being of pure fire; in the older Upaniṣads, however, the *bráhma* in the body merges impersonally into the cosmic fire.

Zaraθuštra, following his rationalistic bent, and opposing the Haoma-cult and animal sacrifice of nature-worships, set up as his supreme deity Ahura Mazdāh, "Lord Reason," and hence Fire came to be regarded as the latter's son, subordinate to him. But Zaraθuštra's reform failed. The Vedic tribes convinced the Iranian cattle-farmers by their victories that, after all, nature-powers were dominant. If Zaraθuštra's teachings were ever fully observed in Eastern Iran, they were soon driven thence by cults of nature-powers—Ātar, Haoma, Miθra, Arədvī, Vərəθraγna, etc., whom Zaraθuštra had classed with the powers of darkness (*rašō*, Ved. *rákṣas*), whom he called *daēvas*. These nature-powers, accepted in Iran after Zaraθuštra and renamed *mainyava yazata*, *baγa*, and *aməša spənta*, were really old Aryan *daivas*, the Vedic *dēvās*. The deities established by Zaraθuštra were translated into nature-powers: Ahura Mazdāh became the sky, etc., Vohu Manah the guardian of useful animals, Aša the guardian of fire, Xšaθra the guardian of metal, Āramaiti (cattle-rearing) the guardian of the earth, the sun Ahura Mazdāh's eye, etc. In some Yašts Ahura Mazdāh is subordinated to the old nature-powers. In Western Iran

the Achaemenids under Xerxes and Artaxerxes I and II returned to their worship. Throughout Iran, despite Zoroāstra, religion continued to revolve around animal-sacrifice and the Haoma-cult.

To the Aryans, everything real, including abstractions, was a concrete person ; hence in Av. Aša and Druj, the Good and the Evil principles, are the highest persons ; all other beings are parts of them. Each being is a composite of body and psychic forces (*daēnā*, *baodah*, *manah*, *urvan*, etc.), which both exist together in the body and appear outside it as independent beings. Thus the Sun is the sun and also Ahura Mazdāh's eye, the stars stars and also Miθra's eyes ; Ahura Mazdāh is independent and also the *urvan* of the *amāša spəntas* ; sacrifices are offered to his ears and eye. The world is composed of series—individual persons combining in ever higher collective persons. All beings of the order of light, immortal and mortal, including men and animals, who are at once persons and parts of the supreme Person, are termed in Av. *yazatas* and receive offerings. Hence according to the Yasna the sacrifice combines all beings of the bright order as a collective person to combat the powers of darkness ; thus Av. Vərəθraϋna (the modern Bahrām fire) is a collective person composed of many fires.

The Indo-Iranians originally regarded the sun, moon, and stars as holes in the vault of the heavenly Mountain through which descend light from the cosmic fire and rain, while at the same time they conceived them as persons. Now Miθra in Av. is entirely different from the Sun : he is the *nightly sky* and the spirit inhabiting it, and his myriad eyes are the stars. From this fundamental character, according to Dr. Hertel, are derived Miθra's other attributes, as ruler of lands, giver of rain, leader in battle, guardian of cattle-rearing and of covenants and friendship, and *ψυχοπομπός*, who protects souls and brings them to the paradise in the Fire-heaven. He has essentially the same qualities as the Vedic Mitrā-Váruṇā ; but, whereas the characters of the latter were in

early Vedic times fused together, the Av. *Miθra* is a distinct personality. Sometimes in Av. he is put into a dual combination with Ahura (scil. *Mazdāh*, not *Varuṇa*); but this is late, and possibly may be imitated from the Vedic compound *Mitrā-Vāruṇā*. *Ahura* means merely "lord", and was applied by *Zaraθuštra* as epithet to *Mazdāh*, "Reason," whom he made his highest deity; no Aryan god ever bore it as a proper name. It was applied to *Mazdāh*, *Miθra*, *Apam Napāt* (lightning), and human beings, and was not fixed as part of the name of *Mazdāh* until after *Zaraθuštra*.

In the *Gāthās* Ahura *Mazdāh* is Divine Reason, fiery of substance, reigning in the Heaven of Light. In later Av. he seems to have been regarded first as more or less the Vedic *Dyāus*, the bright sky, containing the waters dispensed by him; the stars are his eyes, the waters his wives. Then he was identified with the *sky by day*, and finally in Eastern Iran and Turkestan with the *sun* (in Khotan *urmaysde*). In Western Iran, on the other hand, *Miθra* in post-Av. times became the sun, *mihir*.

The cult of *Miθra* was not native to Persis, where it first appears on inscriptions of Artaxerxes II; but RV. X. xxii. refers to it as widespread in Eastern Iran. Its chief document, *Yašt X*, arose in Northern Iran, between the Caspian and Sogdiana, and was intended to make propaganda in Eastern Iran, where the cult was new. Northern Iran was inhabited by nomads, to whom the starlit sky was peculiarly important; *Miθra* is the type of the nomad, and the stars are his kine.

This summary survey scarcely does justice to the immense industry and ability shown by Dr. Hertel in his book, especially as it perforce omits most of the arguments on which his conclusions are based. It will, however, serve to make clear his general position; and, in my opinion, that position is sound. I believe that he has rightly characterised the fundamentals of Indo-Iranian *Weltanschauung*, which have been to a large extent overlooked by previous students, and that he is also correct in his view of the Av. *Miθra* as the spirit of the starlit

sky. On a few minor points I confess I am still not quite convinced. The arguments deducing from Miθra's character as starlit sky his other qualities are very ingenious; but we should probably feel them to be stronger if we added the hypothesis that *originally* Miθra was a tribal war-god who in early times, long before Vēda and Av., was identified with the starlit sky.¹ But, apart from a few cases of ἐποχή like these,² which only affect details, it must be said that by the present work Dr. Hertel has materially strengthened his main position, which is one of very great importance for the study of Indo-European culture. His hypothesis for the most part *works*, enabling him to bring into rational order a great mass of facts, and soon, as I believe, will become generally recognised as a valuable organ of science.

¹ From which of these two characters M. derived his attribute as guardian of compacts is not clear. Dr. Hertel shows very acutely and rightly how this might have happened, and how *mitrá*, *miθra* came to mean "compact", and then "party to a compact", a process which we may perhaps state thus: Mitra → formal covenant as work or manifestation of M. → covenant generally → one of the covenanters → generally friend (Skt. *mitrá*m, neut., influenced perhaps by *vrtrám* "enemy"). But this development could hardly have started unless at the outset M. had been generally recognized as a sort of Ζεύς Ὀρκίος or Deus Fidius; and this must have been very early.

² Thus the note on p. 39, which places the entry of the Vedic tribes into India at about 400 B.C., is difficult to reconcile with historical facts and the admitted existence of a Vedic tribe in Mitanni c. 1380 B.C. On p. 96 Yasna xxxii. 10, *acištem vaēnaijhe* is rightly translated "aufs finsterste betrachten" and explained as meaning "to condemn to destruction"; but this somewhat weakens the force of the argument on p. 180 f. that Yašt x. 29, *tūm akō vahištasca*, etc., must refer to the alternate brightness and gloom of the sky. On p. 250, in the translation of *ahurānīš ahurahe* as "die Gemahlinnen des Herrschers, des Herrschers Töchter", the reference to Aryan incest seems unnecessary, as I think we may regard the phrase as merely pleonastic. I feel also some slight doubt as to the meaning "shine" assigned to *vr*.

L. D. BARNETT.

DIE YĀŠT'S DES AWESTA. By HERMAN LOMMEL. pp. xii + 211, large 8vo. Übersetzt und eingeleitet von Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1927.

The author of this new translation of the Yashts has been working upon it since 1914, and the result has been that the understanding of this extraordinary compilation of highly corrupted and confused material has been brought a decided step forward. One has only to compare this translation with that given by Darmesteter as vol. xxiii of the Sacred Books of the East, Oxford, 1883, to realize the strides which the study of these texts has made since that time. By the way, the author does not seem to know of this English translation. He never mentions it, and refers only to the French translation made by Darmesteter later on, and of this Professor Lommel could make only occasional use. His aim was to give a clear and readable translation. He was quite conscious of the difficulties of the task. The passages which were quite unintelligible have been left out and marked by dots, and doubtful translations are signalized by a query. The interest in these Yashts lies in their mythological and legendary character. Very little of the old genuine Zoroastrian teaching can be found in it: the number of divinities invoked is legion, and not a few of these Yashts read like amulets and charms. They might belong to the Tantra literature. It is well known that for most of the Yashts there is no Pahlavi or other reliable translation in existence, and as Darmesteter has already pointed out, the only helpful method for their understanding is etymological and comparative. Many of the words and names of divinities, left untranslated before, have now been tentatively translated, and thus the Yashts have become less unintelligible than they were before. Closely connected with their understanding is the problem of their date. Professor Lommel agrees that the language in which the Yashts were written was no longer a spoken language: it was the language of the priests, and therefore archaic forms that may occur are no proof for their antiquity. These may

be due to the scholastic attainments of the writer, who had studied more closely the Gathas and the older literature, and made good use of his scholarship. Still, in spite of it, he would like to assign the date of composition to the latter end of the Achæmenian period. One cannot discuss here this point, around which all the Avesta studies turn, but if a certain Vologeses, an Arsacid prince, has been the one who started the recovery of the fragments of the lost literature, and if the Sasanian kings were the first to proclaim the Zoroastrian religion as the official one, the date is brought down by many centuries. Add to it the vague allusions to the legendary heroes, which appear in their fullness only in the Shah Namah. One is therefore inclined to believe that the Yashts belong to a much later date, for this alone would also explain how the old popular beliefs and the innumerable divinities could have obtained such a hold as to practically eliminate or garble the old Zoroastrian teachings. Only a few stereotyped phrases and general principles seem to have remained.

Besides the brief and lucid introduction the author has also prefixed special introductions to a large number of the Yashts, and he has avoided unnecessary repetitions by cross-references. As to his attempts of explaining the Anahita, and still more that of finding the Fravashis, already in the Avesta, although they are not mentioned there, but implied, as he believes, in the Daina, a doubt may be expressed, but on the whole this new translation will prove of invaluable service to the student of the later developments of Zoroastrianism and its relation to the other religions old and more recent which had their home in the ancient Empire of Persia, and the influence which these beliefs have exercised on the mystery cults, later Mithraism, and altogether on the spiritual movements in those countries. The author has appended an excellent index of names and subjects, and this greatly enhances the value of this important work.

M. G.

PAUL KAHLE. *DIE MASORETEN DES WESTENS*. [Texte und Untersuchungen zur Vormasoretischen Grammatik des Hebräischen I.] 8vo, xii, 89 66, 17. W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1927. 14s.

The study of the Masora is entering upon a new phase owing to the researches of Professor Dr. Kahle. His contention is that the Masoretic Text, such as we have it to-day, does not represent in its vocalization the genuine old pronunciation of the Hebrew, such as e.g. it may have been spoken at the time of the Temple. According to Professor Kahle, it is the result of a very carefully worked out system, which merely fixes more or less the pronunciation such as it was current in the sixth or seventh century. This was afterwards worked out into its most minute details by a school of Masorites, the foremost representatives of which were the family of Ben Asher. He endeavours, therefore, to recover the older pronunciation by means of fragments of old Hebrew MSS. found in the Geniza. In a previous volume he has discussed at full length the system of the Masorites of the East, meaning thereby that current in Babylon, best known through its superlinear vocalization. In the present volume he treats now the Masorites of the West, i.e. of Palestine. He has been fortunate enough to discover many more systems of vocalization, and he is, therefore, able to trace a gradual development from simple dots, put sporadically on such words which could be read in two different ways, to these dots growing in number. The vocalization was then extended from single words to every word in the verse, until it became so complicated that a new system was evolved known as the Tiberian system. This is the one which is found now in all our Bibles. But Professor Kahle is not satisfied merely to describe all the forms of vocalization, but what is no less important, he endeavours to show that those older systems correspond to a pronunciation of Hebrew which differs in many respects from the Masoretic, notably in the pronunciation of the letters *b*, *g*, *d*, *k*, *p*, and *t*. According to

Professor Kahle, such pronunciation resembles that of the Samaritans, and also that which is found in the writings of Jerome. It is needless to add that these results must seriously affect the grammar of Hebrew, such as we find it in all modern grammars. Indeed, this view has since been elaborated by the author in a separate essay. Professor Kahle would like to trace the origin of this system of vocalization to Syrian influence. Jews were living in close communication with the Syrian in Nisibis, and even studying together. This is rather a hazardous conjecture, since they were not likely to give us some older forms of marking or pronunciation, and still less would the Jews in Palestine accept anything that was not strictly Jewish. The origin of such signs must be looked for elsewhere, and they are probably connected with extra dots found on certain words in the Scroll of the Pentateuch.

There is now one curious feature about the older vocalizations, i.e. that with very few exceptions they are mostly found in non-Biblical texts, especially ancient hymns and liturgies. This may point in the direction that they represent the real popular pronunciation, and not one of the rigid traditional character reserved for the reading of the Bible. Many MSS. of a liturgical character, especially those written by Karaites or by Sephardim, have indeed such vocalization, which differs from the strictly grammatical forms laid down by the Masorites. Anyone engaged in the study of the Bible will realize the great importance of such research, and will owe a great debt of gratitude to Professor Kahle, who has thus opened up a new path in these investigations. In this volume a number of liturgical pieces have been printed with their ancient vocalization, and with a German translation, and thirty plates contain the facsimiles of the originals.

M. GASTER.

DIE MAGISCHEN HEIL- UND SCHUTZMITTEL Aus der unbelebten Natur mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Mittel gegen den bösen Blick. By Dr. S. SELIGMAN. Eine Geschichte des Amulettwesens. Mit zahlreichen Abbildungen. Large 8vo, xii, 309 pp. Strecker and Schröder, Stuttgart, 1927. 24s.

This book, which is complete in itself, is none the less only one part of a larger work left behind by the late author ready for press. He deals not with magic from a theoretical point of view, but with practical magic, of a therapeutic and prophylactic character, for he has collected a vast material in connexion with the Evil Eye. Here in this volume we have an exhaustive study of the effect of inorganic objects in protecting people from the Evil Eye or curing its effects. The author has gathered into his work almost everything from every part of the world, drawing his materials not only from modern publications, but from the entire literature as far as it was available. He shows perfect acquaintance especially with the Oriental literature, and he gives the references, though briefly, at the end of each chapter. In this volume the following objects are treated, which are all believed to possess a special power of a magical character by which to counteract the alleged sickness caused by the Evil Eye : Water, in all its manifold uses, lustration, bathing, sprinkling, drinking. In a similar manner fire is treated, burning, singeing, coals, ashes, soot, etc. The next chapter is devoted to air, clouds, ether. Then earth, burial, earth from a tomb, sacred earth, etc. Very interesting are the chapters on metals, such as gold, silver, iron and copper, which are more or less prophylactic, and also lead, used for amulets and for other practices, in spite of its cold nature and its dedication to Saturn. A large section of the book is then devoted to a study of stones of all kinds, their origin, character, peculiarities, and the last chapter is almost a complete lapidary. The fullness of the material collected here surpasses anything of the kind that has hitherto been published. It is therefore sincerely to be

desired that the publishers should find the support which they expect, in order that they should feel justified in undertaking the publication of the entire work. The remaining volumes are to contain materials connected with organic matter, then those connected with the human body, all utilized for the same purpose of protection against the Evil Eye. The last volume is to contain a collection of charms and conjurations. When completed it will be indeed a monumental history of the amulet. An index at the end facilitates the research. Considering that so many countries have been mentioned in the course of this investigation, it was a happy idea to collect all the references wherever possible also under the headings of the various countries. The book is beautifully printed, and enriched by no less than 111 equally beautifully executed illustrations.

M. G.

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ANNUAL. Vol. IV. pp. 494, 8vo. Cincinnati, 1927.

Fourteen scholars, teachers of all the Jewish Theological Seminaries on the Continent and in the United States, have contributed to this volume, published by the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati. They are all men who have won for themselves a well-deserved reputation in their own sphere of study. It is therefore difficult to discriminate or to appraise the merit of the one above the other. The subjects cover a wide field of Jewish learning—Bible criticism, liturgy, philosophy, poetry, history, Sadducees and Pharisees, bibliography, philology, etc., are all here represented. Each of these essays is a distinct and valuable contribution to Jewish literature. It is a pity that though the book is of a composite character, no index has been made. It is just because it is not of a uniform character that an index would prove most helpful. If the same name or the same subject is treated by different authors the references help to formulate a better judgment of the man or of the subject thus mentioned.

M. G.

ISLAMIC CULTURE. *The Hyderabad Quarterly Review*.
Hyderabad, Deccan, 1927. Vol. i, No. 1. Issued
quarterly. Price per annum, £1 10s.

Through the munificence of His Exalted Highness the Nizam this Review has been started under the editorship of Mr. M. Pickthall and the first volume, by its contents, leads us to hope that it will rank among the most prominent publications appearing in India. The aim of the Review is to publish in *English* articles by prominent scholars not of India alone, but also by those of other parts of the world interested in the study of Islam and Islamic countries and literature. The first issue contains an article by Ameer Ali on "The Modernity of Islam"; "The Spirit of Asia," by Felix Valvy, in which he strangely attributes to Jingīz Khān and his successors qualities which I have failed to recognize. Professor Yūsuf Ali contributes a study on Albīrūnī which is to be continued in future numbers. A long study by Professor Horovitz is devoted to the "Arabian Nights", while Mohammad Shafi' gives an historical account of the Shalimar gardens at Lahore. M. Hidayat Husain has supplied an edition and English translation of the Bānat Su'ād of the poet Ka'b ibn Zuhair, but he has apparently not been aware of my edition of the text with the commentary of Tibrizi published many years ago in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, nor the edition of the same poem by the late Professor Basset, which was accompanied by the still older commentary of Tha'lab. A long article by Prince Said Halim Pasha deals with "the Reform of Muslim Society", which has been translated from the French in which it was originally composed. I cannot possibly enumerate all the contents of the Review, but the variety of subjects treated augurs well for its future, and it is to be hoped that it will rank with the foremost scientific journals published in India.

F. KRENKOW.

THE OSMANIA MAGAZINE. The Quarterly Journal of the Students of the Osmania University College at Hyderabad, Deccan. February, 1927. Vol. i, No. 1. Government Central Press.

This Journal, intended for the instruction of students of the University in the first place and as an educational review in addition for other colleges, is like the *Islamic Culture* brought into being through the liberality of the enlightened ruler of the premier native state, and is issued under the auspices of the professors of the Osmania University, at the head of which is Professor Muḥammad Abdur-Raḥmān Khān. As the Osmania University has the aim of being the chief centre of Urdu education the magazine is published in two sections, one in English, the other in Urdu. The articles are contributed mostly by the professors of the University and are for the greater part short, and I may mention in the English portion an article on the *Siḥr al-Bayān* of Mir Ḥasan by Sayyid Waqar Ahmad. In the Urdu portion are articles on such varied subjects as the collecting of postage stamps, the beginning of Persian prose literature, the Omayyade mosque at Damascus, a biography of Qāzi Shihāb-ud-Dīn Daulātābādī, and also original Urdu poetry by living authors. The publication is on good paper and well executed, the Urdu portion being done by lithography. It is to be hoped that the magazine will have a long and successful career and that it will contribute to the advancement of knowledge, not only in the State of Hyderabad, but far beyond its borders.

F. KRENKOW.

LOGHAT AL-ARAB. Revue littéraire, scientifique et historique, etc., sous la direction des PÈRES CARMES de Mesopotamie. Baghdad.

After coming to a sudden close at the beginning of the war, when only two numbers of the fourth volume had

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appeared under the guidance of Père Anastase, this important publication has been revived under the same auspices and the fourth volume is now complete before us. The title expresses the aims of the review. There were at first great difficulties, as the cost of a new press were beyond the means of the Carmelite Mission, and I am not sure if in the end the acquisition was not made possible through a Government grant. The puristic tendencies of Père Anastase in his criticism of contemporary works stand prominently in the foreground, one of the first articles pointing out the solecisms in the style of the newspapers appearing in Egypt and Syria. For dialectic studies we find an investigation into the Aramaic words used in 'Irāq, by Yūsuf Ghanīma, and studies on the dialect of 'Irāq, by Muḥammad Raṣāfī. A full list of the publications of the press of the Dominican Mission at Mosul is given, most of these being of a religious character. The quantity of matter issued by this press is really surprising. Of considerable importance is the memoir on the chiefs of the Muntafiq tribe and the small principality of the Āl Afrāsiyāb at Basra, for which we look in vain in historical works readily accessible. Each number contains criticisms of newly issued works which have come to the notice of the editor and a short chronicle of the events in 'Irāq and surrounding countries. The value of the review is increased by very complete indices which fill the last (double) number for the year. The type is not of the best, and at times the printing is blurred, and we miss the help of vowels in cases where the reading is open to doubt, especially in proper names. This latter defect is generally remedied by the customary description, if I may call it so, of the pronunciation. It is to be hoped that the review will have a happier future than it enjoyed at the beginning of its existence, as it counts among its contributors some of the leading savants of 'Irāq and even Syria.

F. KRENKOW.

DIE MUKĀṬARAT VON AT-TAYĀLISĪ, herausgegeben von R. GEYER, mit einer Beilage: DIE ALTE EINTEILUNG DER ARABISCHEN DICHTER UND DAS 'AMR-BUCH DES IBN AL-JARRĀḤ, von H. H. BRÄU. 75 + 50 pp. Wien, 1927.

One of the causes of the frequent confusion in attributing ancient Arabic poems to various authors arises from the fact that so many persons had the same or similar names so that verses of a less-known author were thus easily cited as those of his more celebrated namesake. Both works published have for their aim to bring together as many poets as possible who bore the same name, but while in the work of Ibn al-Jarrāḥ this has been carried out with consistency, the same cannot be said of the work of Tayālisī. The exact time of the last-named author Professor Geyer has not been able to ascertain, nor have I been more fortunate in spite of long search. The name of 'Amr, now practically fallen into disuse, was borne by many persons in the time before and after the rise of Islam, and though the work of Ibn al-Jarrāḥ contains 204 names of poets and Dr. Bräu has added a number of others, I could still add a few more. Each work is preserved in one MS. only and both MSS. can be said to be only fairly correct. Through the kindness of Professor Geyer I had his copy of Tayālisī for a short time and made a hasty copy of it for reference. Both works contain a large amount of poetry which is not otherwise accessible, and many pieces consist of fragments torn out of their surroundings and in consequence are difficult to understand. This may even be said of the longer pieces and the difficulty only proves how useful the ancient commentaries are, in spite of their frequently very useless information. Though much care has been bestowed upon the edition by the editors, I have found several errors which I have noted in reading the book and which follow hereafter. It is cheap glory to correct the errors of others after they have probably solved far greater difficulties in preparing texts which we now

read with ease. In many cases my emendations may not be acceptable to other competent scholars.

F. KRENKOW.

Ṭayālīsī

- p. 2, 2 f., perhaps غَرَّرَ. p. 3, 3 ult., رَفُودًا.
 p. 12, 13, مَخْتَرٌ. p. 5, 2, فَالْحَ is correct.
 p. 6, 6, I read MS. السَّعَارَى. p. 6, 7, I read MS. بهاعامرًا أو يبايع.
 p. 24, 5. This verse appears to form part of a poem which the poet made upon the battle-day of Faif ar-Rih (Naqā'id 471-2); then the gap is after the word قَتْنَا and we must read قَتْنَا - - - بِرَأْيِ الْأَمْرِ حُلَّتِمْ.
 p. 24, 8, possibly تَسْلَالٍ.
 p. 25, 8, we must read زُمَيْلٍ وَلَا وَرَعَ.
 p. 25, 11, ذُبَابُهُ; MS. has قُدْسٌ وَآرِقٌ, which is correct.
 p. 26, 7, perhaps الْحَلَّ.
 p. 26, 8, read أَنْ and تَنْقَسِمَا, the V. form has transitive meaning.
 p. 26, 9, with MS. الْيَهُودَ.
 p. 27, 8, I read the MS. الشَّجْعِي which is correct; cf. شَجْعٌ بَنَ عَامِرُ بْنُ لَيْثَ بْنِ بَكْرِ بْنِ عَبْدِ مَنَاة (Qalqashandi, Nail ed. Baghdad, p. 249).
 p. 27, 10, يَتَعَرَّضُنِي.
 p. 28, 5, MS. reads الضيفان which is correct; cf. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vii, 169, 13.
 p. 28, 13, بِرَأْيِ. p. 29, 1, نَعْلُهُ.
 p. 29 penult., الْمَطَالِبُ on account of تَعَذَّرَتْ.
 p. 31, 3, وَخَزِرَ.
 p. 31, 10, read أَلْهَتْ with MS., the first syllable is missing.
 p. 32, 14, أَبُو عَمْرِو الزَّاهِدِ is correct. p. 33, 2, كَالنَّحْلِ.
 p. 33, 3, بَيْنَا الْقَدَالُ... كَالْفَصْنِ, the MS. has الْفَتَى.
 p. 32, 6, يَرْجِعُهُ and تَرْفُضُ. p. 33, 11, قَصُوْ.
 p. 33, 12, يَسْوَى.
 p. 33, 15, delete لَا which is not in MS. and is against the metre.
 p. 34, 4, read ذُرْعٌ with MS. and خَيْفَ.
 p. 34, 9, يُسَخِّصُهَا. p. 34, 13, الْقَضْ.

- p. 34, 14, اَرْصُوا.
- p. 34, 16, read بِحَمْلِهِ غَوَجٌ with MS. on account of ۛ in تَاء.
- p. 34, 17, read الْعِقْيَان with MS. p. 35, 5, سُبُط with MS.
- p. 35, 6, is metrically wrong; MS. has نَعْتَمُونَ = نَعْتَمُونَ.
- p. 36, 2, اليهود. p. 36, 13, with MS. اَبْدِيَّتُمْ.
- p. 37, 1, MS. has correctly تصنيف.
- p. 37, 8, المولدين ... نشأ. p. 37, 14, النساء.
- p. 38, 2, طَرْف. p. 38, 5, وَجَدَا.
- p. 38, 6, كَهَوْلًا وَسَيَانًا. p. 38, 7, عِذَارًا.
- p. 39, 1, اُقَادُ. p. 39, 11, تُغَيِّرَا.
- p. 40, 1, MS. has over معه the word وَجَهٌ.
- p. 40, 4, read فَصَحَّجَ with MS., which is required by the metre.
- p. 40, 10, the MS. has الْمُخْرِيَات = الْمُحْرَمَات.
- p. 41, 2, اِتَه.
- p. 41, 10, I do not understand اِلَاهِنِينَ.
- p. 42, 3, عَلَى.
- p. 42, 13, this poem is generally ascribed to al-Mufaḍḍal an-Nukrī; cf. Aṣmaiyyāt, No. 55.
- p. 43, 3, MS. has قُرَان. p. 43, 4, MS. has تَعْبِق.

Ibn al-Jarrāḥ

- p. 20, 1, probably الْبَحْتَرِي after بَحْتَرُ a clan of Ṭayyi', as a clan named بِحَطَر is not known.
- p. 20, 15, read قَدْ جَنِبْتُ as he answers مَا جِئْتُ.
- p. 20, 17, read الطَّبِيرُ.
- p. 20, 19, read مَلِيًّا "for a while".
- p. 20, 20, حَطْمَةٌ and الْأَخْصَرُ. p. 21, 2, حَسًا.
- p. 21, 3, مَهْجُ النَّفْسِ لَذْعَرِ. p. 21, 4, لَمْ يَنْ.
- p. 21, 7, بِرَاغِبٍ. p. 21, 10, مُسْتَرَادًّا.
- p. 21, 15 = فَرَّاصُ, the name is found thus also *Khiz.* iii, 38, while Ibn Qutaiba, *Poësis*, has فَرَّاصُ with F.
- p. 21, 18, there is an error of the scribe here, as the rhyme-word belongs to a verse omitted. The two verses are found Ibn Qutaiba, *Poësis*, 207, ll. 7, 8.
- p. 22, 1, اَصَارَنِي اُغْشَى is not possible, we must read اُغْشَى الكِدَا "his arrow made me half-blind". Read اَلْكِدَا.

- p. 22, 2, read أَيْمًا.
- p. 23, 4, perhaps better عَوْنًا and الْمُزَمِّل “for against their deceit is help from God, the mighty one”.
- p. 23, 4, read جِذْم.
- p. 23, 11, in the beginning of a verse إِنَّ would be better.
- p. 23, 3, read وَعَلَى سَوْف “perhaps I may know some time”, لَعَلَّ for عَلَّ.
- p. 24, 2, read ظَالِمِ الْمُوَعِدَ Zālīmīnīl-Mū‘ida; it happens occasionally, if rarely, that the Tanwin is drawn over and forms a short syllable in the metre, e.g. Hutai’a, No. 52, v. 1, زَيْدًا ابْنَ مَهْلِيل.
- p. 24, 5, perhaps ذُرْوَةً. p. 24, 6, ائْتَدَ “exhausted”.
- p. 24, 7, read رُكْبَتِهِ.
- p. 24, 9, read الْمُرْدُ plural of أَمْرَدُ “young man”.
- p. 25, 2, read ضَعْفَهُ. p. 25, 6, read هَوَيْتَ.
- p. 25, 8, read آمَنَهَا. p. 25, 12, read عَمَرُو.
- p. 25, 13, read حَتَّى appears to be wrong.
- p. 25, 20, read تَنْهَى عَرِيَّتَهُ “will Uraina never cease to blame me?”
- p. 26, 10, read لَقَعُ الْقَطْرُ آتِبَ.
- p. 26, 13, read الْمُنْجِبُ “who begets noble children”.
- p. 26, 15, read عُرْيَان. p. 27, 7, read بِإِخْوَانِهِ.
- p. 27, 10, read بِنَاصِفَةٍ; al-Bakhtari al-Ja’di is cited, LA. xiii, 164-5.
- p. 27, 14, read تَقْنَمَا “when other people think of great deeds he hides himself”.
- p. 27, 17, on account of لَدَاتِكَ we must read تَذَكَّرْتُ. Read also نَوَال.
- p. 28, 10 ff. This riddle is not easy to solve, the solution in each verse is “excrements”. l. 14, for سَلَاح he has سَلَاخ; l. 15, for خُرُوف he has خُرُو; l. 16, for خُرْدَلَة he has خُرْدَل; l. 17, read كِرْش.
- p. 29, 2, read بَرْتَاء.
- p. 29, 3, read حَالَام certainly not جَالَام with Jim.
- p. 29, 12, as the poem is addressed to a woman read كِ and سَرِيْعَةً.
- p. 29, 17, perhaps ثَمَامَةً.

- p. 29, 18, read تَحَمَّلْ "bear patiently".
- p. 30, 2 ff. These verses are generally attributed to al-A'shar ar-Raqabān (cf. *LA.* iv, 23, which differs; the verses are frequently quoted and the source is Abū Zaid, *Nawādir*, p. 73).
- p. 30, 3, read مُضِرٌّ. p. 30, 5, read مَسِيخٌ.
- p. 30, 6, read لَوْطِيكُ.
- p. 30, 7, 'Amr ibn Milqat, who is frequently cited. The source is Abū Zaid, *Nawādir*, 62-3.
- p. 30, 14, read صُرَيْمٌ. His grandfather al-Bā'ith ibn Šuraim is well known.
- p. 31, 4, generally called عمرو بن الجعد, so *LA.* xi, 163; *Sharīshī*, i, 290; also called عُتَيْرٌ, so Yaqut, s.v. نَقَرَى. Read قَهْدٌ.
- p. 31, 6, read نَقَرَى with Yaqut, loc. cit.
- p. 31, 7, Yaqut reads يَصْطَفُ بَشَرٌ which is better; read also و يَرْكُوا without u.
- p. 31, 13, ألوان أحبي is grammatically impossible, read لَوْ أَنَّ أَحْبِي "if my little brother were, etc."
- p. 33, 3, read زَيْبَةَ with Ḥamāsa, *Bulaq*, ii, 71; *Khiz.* ii, 344. Of the tribe of Taim Allāh ibn Tha'laba. ثعلبة.
- p. 33, 5, read أخواله.
- p. 33, 8, read إِيَّاكَ يَا عَمْرُو وَتَرَكْتُ النَّدَى.
- p. 35, 3, perhaps better التَطَامِعُ.
- p. 37, 10 ff., the poem should be read with Sukūn on the last letter as in the *Dīwān* of 'Amr ibn Qamī'a; l. 13, read طَوِيلٌ; l. 15, ماجد.
- p. 36, 1, read تُهَيِّقُكَ; l. 3, read صُبُورٌ "leaping".
- p. 36, 6, read تَأَوُّهُ... أَفَى تَائِيْنِ. "Oh! Is it for two old camels, etc."; vide *LA.* vi, 446; xiii, 431.
- p. 36, 11, read الجُوعُ; his father, Ḥakīm ibn Mu'ayya, is a well-known Rajaz poet.
- p. 37, 4, read جُنَادَةٌ, the verse which follows is found in a poem ascribed to him, *Hudal*, 202, v. 3.
- p. 37, 13, read المعْفَرُ.
- p. 37, 14, read طُرَاثِثٌ, plural of طُرْثُوثٌ, name of a red fungus.
- p. 37, 16, perhaps جَوَا... جَارِهِ. p. 38, 3, read جَبْتِنَا.

- p. 38, 4, read غَدْرَةٌ.
- p. 38, 6, read مِنَى, place near Mecca, and سِوَاكَا toothstick.
- p. 38, 10, perhaps الشريد.
- p. 38, 14, read نَاعِجَةُ النَّقَا or نَاعِجَةُ النَّقَا.
- p. 38, 15, read لِحِقُ الْأَيَّاطِلِ and غَوَارِ.
- p. 38, 17, بِيَشٍ هِجَفٍ.
- p. 39, 1, *LA.* xv, 177, has the name of his father دَرَاك.
- p. 39, 2, al-Mazūn is correct; Mazōnā was already in the Syriac writings of the fourth century the name for 'Omān, later it became the nickname for the Azd of 'Omān.
- p. 39, 9 ff., I have read this poem elsewhere, but fail to trace it now.
- p. 39, 13, read الغابات.
- p. 39, 16, read الهَبَاءُ تَيْنِ, name of a well-known place.
- p. 40, 1, read رَثَ. These verses are cited by Ibn al-Jauzi, *Sīrah 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz*, p. 239.
- p. 40, 3, read سَرَيْنَا.
- p. 40, 6, Ibn al-Jauzi reads وَاحِدَهُم.
- p. 40, note 1, v. 3, read مَصْدَقُ الْوَحْيِ فَبِنَا أَمْرٌ نَاهِي; v. 5, read يَزْلُ.
- p. 41, 6, read فُضُولُهَا and تَرْدِي.
- p. 41, 8, read سَرِقَ. p. 41, 13, read طَرَّ.
- p. 42, 2, read تَنَاصِبٍ, plural of تَنَصَّبَ.
- p. 42, 17, سَعِيدٌ alone is right, he was treacherously killed by 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān.
- p. 44, 8, probably أَبُو جَحْوَشَ. p. 44, 9, read ظِيَّانَ.
- p. 44, 11, read إِنِّي. p. 44, 14, read فُضِّلَ.
- p. 45, 4, read ثَنَامَ. It is an elegy upon al-Faḍl ibn Yahyā al-Barmakī.
- p. 45, 7, the first hemistich is metrically wrong, we may read أَسَاءَنِي لِرَأْسِي أَلَامَ ذَا لِرَأْسِي.
- p. 46, 10, verse by this poet is cited, *LA.* xviii, 175.
- p. 47, 17, read طُوال and الْأُرْدَلُونَ.
- p. 48, 3, read مِصْرًا. p. 48, 5, read مُفَرَّغٌ... التَّجِجِ.
- p. 48, 6, read حَرَسَجَ; cf. 'Uyūn al-Akhbār, 193 = Cairo ed., i, 158-9.

- p. 49, 6, read تَلْظِي . p. 49, 13, read يَسْبُ .
 p. 49, 16, read بِالْوَم . p. 50, 4, read رَاع .
 p. 50, 8, read رَجَالًا . p. 50, 10, read فَعَلَ .
 p. 50, 18, read هَمَّتْ .
 p. 51, 6, read أَوْسَدُ "I take for a pillow".
 p. 51, 7, read مِهَادٍ . p. 51, 14, read يَوْمًا .
 p. 51, 16, read الزِّدَاء . p. 52, 9, perhaps غُرَيَّة .
 p. 52, 11, read أَصْبَحَتْ .
 p. 52, 16, read أُنَا الْهِنَوَاتْ is impossible, but I cannot propose a suitable emendation.
 p. 53, 1. This poem is frequently cited, as by 'Amr ibn Juwain in the MS. of the *Ikhtiyārāin*, fol. 41r; by Abū Qurdūda in *Jāhīz*, *Bayān*, i, 132 = i, 90; *Ḥayawān*, v, 101.
 p. 53, 2, read أَزْرَقَ الْعَيْنَيْنِ وَالسَّعْرَةَ . p. 53, 3, read يَوْمًا تَطُرُ لَكَ... سَرَرَةٌ .
 p. 53, 4, read جَفَّةً... الْحَبْرَةَ .
 p. 53, 10, read نَبِيَهُ أُسْرَابَ " (riders) which scare the swarms of sandgrouse".
 p. 53, 16, read ثَلَاثَةً .
 p. 54, 7, Ibn at-Taifāniyya is cited *LA*. xi, 176; xiii, 267.
 p. 54, 10. The first hemistich is impossible, perhaps read أَيْاعَمُرُو وَمَنْ .
 p. 54, 13, read فَصْفُون "weak, easily broken".
 p. 54, 14, perhaps قُرَيْطُ . p. 55, 1, read صَبَاغ .
 p. 55, 4, read يَغْلُو . p. 55, 5, read اسْتَخَفُّوا .
 p. 56, 11, read بِالنَّعِيقِ . p. 58, 1, read تَسَحَّبَ الرِّبْطَةُ .
 p. 58, 5, perhaps عَرَامِي is better.
 p. 58, 9, read يَتَّبِعُن . p. 58, 17, read لَا بُدَّ .
 p. 59, 3, read سِيَامٍ .
 p. 59, 4, read دَعَوْتَهُمْ on account of لَمْ تَقُلْ .
 p. 59, 7, read أَلَا نُفَهَا is impossible and we must probably read أَلَا نُفَهَا as plural of أَلْفُ or أَلَا نُفَهَا as plural of أَلْفُ. But to what do these verses allude? Instead of تَقْلِبُهَا one expects a jussive. And then the feminine, to what has it relation? To the Caliphate? Or to a woman? Perhaps we should read تَقْلِبُهَا.

- p. 59, 16, read *وَضَعْتُ أَرَاهُطُ* ; so also *Agh.* iv, 145 ; *LA.* ix, 177.
- p. 60, 2, cited anonymously *LA.* xi, 128.
- p. 60, 9, read *يَحْبِبُ*. p. 60, 11, read *غَضِبْتُ*.
- p. 61, 1, perhaps *عِيس*.
- p. 61, 7, the father of al-Mustaughir is generally called Rabi'a.
- p. 61, 8, read *يَنْشُ*. I. Duraid, *Geneal.* 154 ; Mu'ammarin, 8.
- p. 61, 15, read *جَدَّتِي* "my grave".
- p. 61, 16, read *أَوْدَى يَحْلُوَاتِي*. p. 62, 3, read *تَرَعْدُ*.
- p. 62, 4, read *جِلَه... صَيَّقَتْه*. p. 62, 7, read *حَلَوْبَتَه*.
- p. 62, 12, the place where the pebbles are cast.
- p. 62, 17, *لَا تَزَالُ يَهِيَّجُهُ*, unusual construction.
- p. 63, 2, perhaps *أَلْهَجَ*. p. 63, 3, read *تَحْدِي* "trots".
- p. 63, 12, read *مَمْنَعٌ*. p. 63, 13, read *الْحَيْفُ... التَّرْدِي*.
- p. 63, 14, *الْعَلَات*.
- p. 63, 16 ff., according to *LA.* xii, 103, by 'Amr b. Umāma, which is the same person ; but *LA.* xi, 423, it is attributed to 'Amr ibn Fuhaira.
- p. 64, 9, *مَكْدَسًا مَكْوَسًا* makes no sense, we must read *مَكْدَسًا* or *مَكْدَسًا*.
- p. 64, 11, read *إِنِّي*. p. 64, 12, perhaps *الْعَذَال*.
- p. 66, 7, read *يَرْجُحُ*. p. 66, 9, read *الْبَيْدَ*.
- p. 66, 10, perhaps *بَسْمُ*. p. 67, 15, read *الْحَادِثَاتُ*.
- p. 68, 6, read *وَجُلُ*. p. 68, 17, read *لَعَرِ حَوْلَ*.

F. K.

TAHĀRAT AHL AL-KITĀB. By ABU 'ABD ALLAH AZ-ZINJĀNĪ.

Dar as-Salām Press, Baghdād, A.H. 1345. 29 pp. 8vo.

The author is a learned Mujtahid of Zinjān in Persia, and tells us in the introduction to this treatise that he made the pilgrimage in the year 1342 by the way of Suez and Jidda on a steamer on which most of the crew and officers were non-Muslims and that this made him consider the question of the lawfulness of Muslims having intercourse with adherents of other creeds. The book has caused some sensation in Iraq and Persia and has been confiscated, as I have been informed by Père Anastase, in 'Irāq. Considering the frequent inter-

course of Christians and Jews with Muhammadans in almost all Muslim countries, this may at first sight appear rather strange, but religious feeling runs higher than we in the West can readily understand.

The whole treatise is held within the margins of a literary discussion and the author brings forward citations from the Kur'an and especially from Shi'ah theologians. His first aim is to elucidate the term "Mushrikūn" and to decide whether Christians and Jews should be classed with them. He comes to the conclusion that they are not included in this term, as both creeds are adherents of monotheism, and he even allows this for the followers of Zoroaster, referring to the investigations of Williams Jackson and West, thus showing that he has made himself acquainted with English works on the subject. He then discusses whether a Muslim can eat out of the same vessels as a Christian or Jew, shake hands with them and associate with them in other ways, and brings forward the opinions of the most renowned Shi'ah (and some Sunni) theologians, which are far from being in accord. He comes to the conclusion that even these savants with all their learning may not have access to all genuine records, that from this has arisen their difference of opinion, and that after all a Muslim *can* associate with non-believers if he takes due precautions.

With all his learning Zinjani does not give prominence to the historic facts that in the earlier times of Islam Christians and Jews were admitted freely to the society of Muslims. I would mention the association of Abu Zubaid with al-Walid ibn 'Uqba, who is even stated to have been his half-brother on his mother's side; the free admission of al-Akḥṭal to the court of the caliphs at Damascus, and especially that the mother of the Imam 'Alī Zain al-'Ābidīn was a Persian princess, while more than one of the other twelve Imams had Christian mothers.

It is a pity that the little book should have been confiscated as the contents are instructive and instead of doing

harm would have contributed towards the breaking of the barriers of prejudice and ignorance which still exist in Shi'ah lands.

F. K.

THE LETTERS OF GERTRUDE BELL. Selected and edited by LADY BELL. 2 vols. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Benn, London, 1927.

It is said, and in a measure truly, that the hurry and rush of modern life have killed the art of letter writing. Gertrude Bell, in a life that was filled to overflowing with event and excitement, found time to write letters that refute this assertion. Most of the letters contained in these two volumes were written to her father and stepmother, and in addition to being intimate tributes of devotion are almost invariably vivid and clear descriptions of her wonderful experiences. To those who possessed her friendship they conjure up poignant memories, for Gertrude Bell wrote as she spoke and lives again in every line. Her vital and vivid personality shines out so conspicuously, and awakes such extensive recollections in the memories of her friends, that the amount of their interest to the ordinary reader is difficult for a friend to assess.

The extent to which they have been censored and abridged, causes inevitable gaps, which to some can be partially filled but to many must remain blanks in the history of her career. The very intimacy of the letters increases the annoyance caused by the gaps, for, to the curious mind, a free and full expression of her views and opinions on men and affairs would be of extreme interest. Propriety and consideration for the skin of her subjects have prohibited this satisfaction of the curious—among which subjects are doubtless to be found many of the curious themselves. Her inmost views on such events as the pre-1920 affairs, and the Sayid Taalib *coup d'état* must therefore remain unpublished.

To quibble at these gaps, however, is ungracious when such a feast of interest is afforded. The letters clearly show her as a woman filled from her early days with enthusiasm and

a high ideal of life and adventure. Her keen, sharp wit and quick brain made her outstanding, though it is doubtful if she ever possessed the virtue of suffering fools, even Arab fools, gladly. Oxford behind her, she seems in her letters to rush into the stress of life with bubbling joy and delight. "The fun I am having," is her oft-repeated cry.

The East caught her young, and inspired and excited, for a period, the poetic instinct within her. She was 23 and visiting Persia when its mysterious and undefinable spirit took possession of her to hold her a willing captive in tightening shackles till the day of her death. After Persia she toured the world, and spent a few years at home in England, or on the Continent where princes or pundits were met, estimated, and labelled, but in 1899 the East called her back and inspired her with the determination to make her great ultimate journey to Nejd. From then onwards, though she broke away occasionally to astonish the Alpine climbing world, she irresistibly gravitated back to the desert and her beloved Arabs. In 1905, after her second world tour—made, she said, to regain the day she had lost—she was again in Syria "playing at being an archæologist", breaking new ground, making new friends, and joyfully meeting old ones, and almost—but not quite—regretting that she was not a man.

Her journeys, labours, and adventures prior to her great journey to Nejd have all been put before the world in her publications, and the letters add little that is new. But the war which broke out shortly after she returned from that last great endeavour prevented her from writing what would undoubtedly have been her greatest book. The letters give glimpses of what the journey was and the book would have been, and it is to be sincerely hoped that her full diary and records will be published in the near future.

She returned from Nejd in May, 1914, worn out by her wonderful effort, and was in England when war was declared. With characteristic energy she directed all her efforts to war work; for a time in England, then in France, tracing wounded

and missing. Her unique and valuable knowledge of Arabia was very soon required in the Middle and Near East, and she was called upon to assist the Arab bureau in Cairo, where Colonel Lawrence, whom she had met in earlier days, was taking an active part in raising the Arab revolt.

March, 1916, found her in Iraq, the land which was to see the climax of her life's work. For a year she worked in Basra, through a hot summer which she found trying to her health and her clothes, then early in 1917 she was transferred to Baghdad, where within a few days of her arrival she had installed herself in the house in the garden where she spent the remainder of her life. The summer of 1917, which was exceptionally severe, again tried her health very seriously, but she held grimly to her task. Her letters during this period show her depressed and at times almost despairing, but it was not until mid-1918 that she went to Persia for a short rest.

Her views expressed in letters written immediately after the war are extremely interesting, particularly those in which she states her clear conviction that British rule and British rule only is desired in the country. How long she held this conviction it is impossible from her letters to deduct, for the period during 1919, when she was in England, and up to and during the 1920 rising, is but sparsely illustrated; that this is inevitable is to be regretted, for a fuller knowledge of the currents and undercurrents of that unfortunate period is greatly desired. That she was in sympathy with the Arab point of view, whatever it was, is clearly expressed, but the extent and nature of her dreams for the future are obscure. On one point she was sure of herself, and that was that she would see the matter through to the bitter end—even if the "Scuttle" policy carried the day.

The return of Sir Percy Cox fills her once more with joy and the awakening ideal of Arab nationality with an almost boundless enthusiasm. To the realization of this ideal she devoted the remainder of her life. The fever of excitement

in which she lived until Feisal was precariously placed on his throne and the boundless energy she displayed in all matters which would further his cause are clearly shown in the interesting letters during this period. In fact, so fervent and enthusiastic does she become that occasionally her terms of admiration and jubilation savour of exaggeration. If, however, her fervour and devotion ever swung her off the clear balance of accurate judgment her natural sanity quickly righted her again.

With Feisal appointed King of a practically independent nation, though held in place and together by a cement of British prestige, Gertrude's Bell's great work in Iraq was finished. Though her energies were willingly devoted to any and every useful purpose which lay to her hand, the letters clearly show that, after the departure of Sir Percy Cox, her sphere of useful work was diminishing and becoming circumscribed. To her old love, archæology, at which she had played in 1905 and subsequently excelled in, she returned once more. Her love for it had never been abandoned, but her multitudinous interests had left her but little time to devote to it. Her later letters show the meticulous care and attentive enthusiasm with which she carried out her duties as Hon. Director of Antiquities. The financial condition of the new-born State precluded any possibility of expenditure on staff or equipment, but with the well-intentioned assistance of a local clerk, a local official, and a friend, she undertook the responsibility of organizing and administering the new department. That she exercised the authority devolving on her in the best interests of Archæology and the State of Iraq, as far as the two interests could be compatibly combined, few will deny.

The letters written during this last phase of her career show that the climax or zenith of her life had been reached and just passed when she died, and it must be felt that, to her, death was the easiest parting from the land and people she loved so well.

J. M. WILSON.

BIBLIOTHECA ARABICA SCHOLASTICORUM. Série Arabe, tome ii. *Algazel, Tahâfut al-Falâsifat*. Texte arabe établi per MAURICE BOUYGES, S.J. 10 × 6½, xxix + 446 pp. Beyrouth, Imprimerie Catholique, 1927.

Although El Ghazâlî, who died at the beginning of the 6th-12th century, is very well known to all students of Islamic civilization, it may be permitted to recall that he was one of the greatest theologians of Islam, an original thinker and abundant writer, and that Muhammadan orthodoxy is hardly less indebted to him than to Abû el Hasan el Ash'arî, his predecessor by some two centuries. Like El Ash'arî, El Ghazâlî met his opponents with their own weapons. He has the credit of being the first to defend the articles of faith from the philosophers by using their own dialectic against them.

In a book called *Maqâsid et Falâsifa*, El Ghazâlî gives an account of philosophic doctrines. His defence of the orthodox position is contained in *Tahâfut et Falâsifa*, in which he attacks the philosophers and makes out that their systems are full of flaws and fallacies instead of being logically sound, as had been imagined. Within less than a century the Spanish Arab Ibn Rushd (Averroes) produced a rejoinder entitled *Tahâfut et Tahâfut*. These books exercised considerable influence during the middle ages not only in the East, but also in Europe, where they were studied and several Latin versions of the last of them were made. All three will be published in this series. El Ghazâlî's *Tahâfut*, which is second on the list for publication, is the first to come out.

Tahâfut in the title has been translated in many different ways, as can be seen from the various renderings brought together by the editor in his introduction. The author uses the word several times in the text, and it is clear that ruin, destruction, and similar terms do not convey the meaning he intended. Father Bouyges favours "incohérence", but this translation hardly fits in all the passages. Fallaciousness appears to be substantially what El Ghazâlî meant, but it

does not include the idea of precipitancy given by the Arabic. There seems indeed to be no single equivalent for *taháfut* in English.

The book is divided into twenty chapters, each devoted to particular points of doctrine or questions, such as the philosophers' view that the universe is eternal, their inability to establish a proof that the First (Cause) is not a corporeal being. The four last chapters are grouped under Natural Science, the others under Theology. El Ghazâlî proceeds by means of orderly reasoning, with an occasional illustration, but no unnecessary digression, apart from a remonstrance now and then. He is careful to explain thoroughly the teachings which he undertakes to show to be wrong or unsubstantiated, for, as he says, to contest an opinion without a perfect exposition of it, is shooting in the dark; accordingly he sets out methodically all the arguments advanced in favour before putting forward his refutation or objections. In his preface he gives his reasons for writing and names Aristotle as the leader of the philosophers and El Fârâbî and Ibn Sînâ (Avicenna) as his principal Islamic followers, but he intimates that he is not attacking any single body of co-ordinated doctrines and draws in turn from the beliefs of the Mu'tazila, Karrâmîya, and Wâqifiya the opinions with which he charges the philosophers. Three of their tenets which he enumerates he regards as entirely inconsistent with Islam, and thus as constituting infidelity worthy of death. He leaves open the question how far their other views put them outside the pale of the Muhammadan religion. One of the manuscripts used for the present edition gives the exact date of the composition of *Et Taháfut*, which was not known before. The discovery is a valuable one, for it shows that the book was finished only a few months before El Ghazâlî gave up his position at the Nizâmîya College, and set out on the wanderings in which he turned to Sufism.

The merits of *Et Taháfut* from the point of view of theology must be left to the judgment of those well enough acquainted

with the scholastic systems and their development to be able to test El Ghazâlî's arguments according to rule and to decide how far he can be credited with any independent contribution to scholasticism. The book contains some subtleties of reasoning that are not easy to follow, and ordinary readers at times may shrink from the labour. There is, however, no difficulty in appreciating the directness and vigour of the author's style, the view that he affords of the principal problems by which the Muhammadan religious world was exercised in his day, and of the beliefs prevalent with regard to them, and his plain indication of his own position.

Et Tahâfut has been studied by several modern European scholars, and some of them have translated parts of it. They have been obliged to depend upon uncritical editions, the earliest being a Cairo edition of 1885, of which the other two seem to be little more than reproductions. A reliable text for such a book is most necessary. In providing the first critical edition, Father Bouyges has carried out his work so as to leave nothing to be desired. He has been at great pains to make a thorough search for material and has succeeded in finding an abundant quantity, including citations from El Ghazâlî's work in other books, the principal one being *Tahâfut et Tahâfut*, where nearly the whole of its text is reproduced. He has even been to the trouble of collating entirely a Hebrew translation of *Tahâfut et Tahâfut*. Of *Et Tahâfut* alone, the number of manuscripts he has examined is no less than seventeen. His text is based upon eight of the earliest, three of which date from within seventy years of the composition of the original. He gives the variants of these manuscripts and of the chief printed editions of *Et Tahâfut*, and of *Tahâfut et Tahâfut*, regularly in footnotes, with occasional readings from the other sources. His introduction supplies full bibliographical details, he has headed each page of the text with a brief Latin indication of the substance that will be found very convenient for reference, and he has provided several tables and indices, among which a view of

BIBLIOGRAPHIE DES ŒUVRES DE IGNACE GOLDZIHÉR. 211 .

the principal assertions in the text containing 879 entries, and an index of more than 3,000 technical terms deserve particular notice. These aids to study extend the range of the utility of the book beyond its immediate subject and considerably enhance its value. The text has been printed with great care, as can be seen from the difficulty of finding even one or two of the most trifling misprints. Altogether the book has had a remarkable amount of labour devoted to it, and is a very satisfactory production.

A. R. GUEST.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE DES ŒUVRES DE IGNACE GOLDZIHÉR. Par BERNARD HALLER, avec une introduction biographique de M. Louis Massignon. 11 × 7, xvii + 99 pp. Paris, 1927. Publications de l'école nationale des langues orientales vivantes.

The life of Professor Goldziher was not an eventful one, but the career of a man of such great distinction is always interesting to follow. Besides the necessary biographical details, M. Massignon gives a sympathetic appreciation of the celebrated Orientalist and his achievement. He began as an author at the early age of twelve, and the list of his publications shows how constantly his literary activity was maintained up to the end of his days. The list includes 592 separate items, ranging from the well known books down to short articles and notices. Professor Goldziher's publications appeared in altogether eight different languages. Many of his works were in Hungarian, and M. Heller provides brief epitomes of the principal ones of these. By means of chronological and other grouping, the list is well arranged for convenient reference.

A. R. GUEST.

TROIS CONFÉRENCES SUR L'ARMÉNIE FAITES À L'UNIVERSITÉ DE STRASBOURG. Par FRÉDÉRIC MACLER. Paris, 1927. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$. (Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque de vulgarisation, tome 46.)

These lectures were delivered in February, 1926, under the auspices of the Faculty of Protestant Theology in Strasbourg, and the writer of the present notice had the pleasure of hearing them. M. Macler is well known as an authority on Armenian subjects; twenty years ago he had already published a Catalogue of the Armenian (and Georgian) MSS. at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and since then he has done much historical and linguistic work; he has also taken a prominent part in making known to the world the desperate plight of the Armenian nation since the end of the Great War. Such a little book as this, with its thirty-two reproductions of good photographs, chiefly architectural, should attract many new students and increase the number of those anxious to show their practical sympathy for an admirable race, to whom the world in general and the Allies in particular are indebted.

Part I is entitled "A propos de l'Eglise arménienne", showing how the autonomous autocephalous Church since its adoption of the monophysite doctrine has safeguarded the language, literature, and civilization of its members and imbued them with a democratic and fraternal spirit which has often saved them from ruin.

Part II, "En marge de l'Eglise arménienne," gives an account of the paganism found in folklore and translations of some folktales, showing the influence of the old religion on the new; the activity of sectarians, e.g. Paulicians, the various migrations of the patriarchal see until its final establishment, in 1442, at Edchmiadzin in the shadow of Ararat.

Part III, "Arménie et civilisation," is chiefly devoted to Armenia's contributions to the welfare of the world in agriculture, commerce, industry, music, literature, and, above all, architecture. To the general reader it will be news to learn that the churches of Rosheim (Alsace), St. Nectaire

(Auvergne), Notre-Dame du Port (Clermont-Ferrand), and the modern Synagogue of Strasbourg all have Armenian characteristics.

These lectures were certainly well worthy of publication in a cheap, attractive little volume of 146 pages, with good illustrations.

O. W.

THE LITERATURE OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS. By ADOLF ERMAN. Translated into English by AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd. pp. xlv + 318. 8vo.

In 1923 Dr. Erman, who inaugurated the studies of the language of ancient Egypt which have completely revolutionized our understanding of the grammar and syntax of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, published a collection of the principal Egyptian literary texts under the title of "Die Literatur der Aegypter". This publication was justly hailed with enthusiasm, because it brought together for the first time authoritative translations in a convenient form of texts, many of which had to be sought for in scattered technical publications. The previous translations of many of the texts, moreover, were of very unequal value, and some of them at least, though satisfactory in their day, had become completely out of date. At the time when the original German publication of Dr. Erman's book appeared, the hope was expressed by many reviewers that an English edition might be issued, and so place at the disposal of all English-speaking readers, specialists and laymen alike, the oldest body of literature in the world without the preliminary necessity of being able to read German fluently. This hope has now been realized, and Dr. A. M. Blackman has prepared the English edition now under notice. Dr. Erman was fortunate indeed in being able to secure the services of so

competent a scholar, for the English edition is not merely a translation of the original German, but has been controlled throughout by direct reference to the Egyptian texts themselves. Egyptian idioms and niceties of phrase are difficult to render in a modern language, and to have taken these at second-hand through the medium of the German translation, would often have resulted in missing the point or intention of the often obscurely worded ideas of the ancient scribes. By consulting the originals, Dr. Blackman has always succeeded in catching just the true sense of the Egyptian texts whilst at the same time giving an accurate and literal translation of the German.

We have in this book the double authority of one of the acknowledged masters of the ancient Egyptian language for the original and the competent scholarship of Dr. Blackman for the translation: there is therefore singularly little that a reviewer can say. This admirable volume for the first time places before the English reader a complete and representative series of the literary didactic and poetical works of the ancient Egyptians. In the 'seventies of the last century a laudable attempt to familiarize English readers with the ancient literature of Egypt was made in the series of books issued under the title of "Records of the Past", to which most of the leading scholars of the day contributed. This series, however, has long since become obsolete, for not only has our knowledge of the language increased by leaps and bounds in the last fifty years, but also many new texts have since been discovered. The series, moreover, aimed chiefly at presenting the historical rather than the literary texts. The English editions of Maspero's *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt* have made English-speaking readers familiar with the stories and tales of the Egyptians, but with these exceptions, almost the only other authoritative sources of information were the technical editions of various individual texts scattered in many scientific publications difficult of access to the general reader.

Dr. Erman's book begins with a series of extracts from the poetical portions of the Pyramid Texts and covers the whole field of Middle Kingdom literary papyri, which contain stories, didactic works, and poems. A most valuable part of the book is that which deals with the numerous ostraca and papyri of the New Kingdom, most of which are school-books, and which contain, besides extracts from the larger classical works, a great variety of fascinating and amusing topics. Many of these pieces are here presented for the first time. It is needless to say that the work of such an author and such a translator is excellent both in substance and execution, and whilst we are grateful for the great mass of interesting matter thus laid before us, we cannot help regretting that no magical texts are included in the collection. The Berlin papyrus of spells for mother and child, for instance, of which Dr. Erman himself was the first editor, would have been a welcome addition, and extracts from the magical papyri of Leiden and Turin would also have been appreciated. Perhaps this suggestion may receive consideration when the author is preparing a second edition, which is certain to be called for at no distant date. There is another point to which we would call attention: and that is the absence of references to the pages or sections of the original Egyptian texts. If such references had been indicated in the margins, the general reader would not have been affected by their presence, whilst the student who wishes to consult text and translation together would find his work greatly facilitated. A student who wishes to refer to a particular passage of the *Wisdom of Ptah-hotpe*, or of the *Westcar Papyrus*, for instance, would not find it easy to identify at once in these long texts the phrase or sentence to which he had the reference. Perhaps this point, also, will be kept in mind when a new edition is under consideration.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

THE FELLĀHĪN OF UPPER EGYPT. By WINIFRED S. BLACKMAN, with a Foreword by R. R. MARRETT. pp. 330, 186 figures, 8vo. London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd. Price 15s. net.

It is nearly a century ago since Edward William Lane published his *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, a work which has remained our principal source of information upon its subject. The best fate which can befall any book, however good, is that it may be superseded by a better, and in taking leave of Lane's classical monograph, we have to welcome its successor in Miss Blackman's book, which is now before us. Miss Blackman has acquired the happy power of so completely winning the confidence of the peasant women of Upper Egypt that she has been able to present to her readers a great mass of detail covering the most intimate and cherished beliefs and ideas of the peasant population of the Nile Valley.

Throughout his long residence in Egypt, the late Sir Gaston Maspero ever had his ears open for any scrap of native lore, any song, story, or tradition, which might fall from the lips of a people whose mental ideas are at once elementally simple and intricately complex. In interpreting obscure allusions in the ancient Egyptian texts, Maspero nearly always found a suggestion, if not an explanation, in modern analogies, but although many valuable observations bearing upon the customs and beliefs of the modern fellāhīn and their Pharaonic ancestors are scattered throughout his voluminous writings, he never made a systematic study of a subject which might be described as dear to his heart. No one would have welcomed more heartily than Maspero the publication of Miss Blackman's book.

A century of experience in anthropological method has placed the author in the advantageous position, which was impossible to Lane and his contemporaries, of being able to discern just the kind of information that was required, and how to classify and interpret the resulting facts. Her

volume is packed with interesting facts from beginning to end.

Many of the features of Egyptian peasant life which provide the greatest interest to anthropologists are just those which make the most doleful reading for the sociologist. In spite of the gradual infiltration of ideas and customs from the west, the fellāhīn still remain in many respects in a condition of social and eugenic degradation. Like their ancient ancestors, however, their cheerful fatalism carries them through, and to one who, like Miss Blackman, has long resided amongst them, they reveal certain sterling traits of character.

We cannot now examine in detail the very full account (which, as we are told in the Preface, is to be followed by a fuller one) of the various aspects of social, industrial, and religious life which these pages unfold. A welcome addition is made to the collection of native stories already available in the series of six village tales which Miss Blackman has given us. Spitta Bey, Dulac, and others have collected a series of vernacular tales, and these, with the new additions, are most interesting to compare with the literary and classic stories of the educated Arab writers.

Of particular interest to Egyptologists is the concluding chapter in which the analogies between modern and ancient customs are reviewed with very full bibliographical references. Full as it is, this chapter, as the author admits, might be very considerably extended. The book is well illustrated with 186 figures, mostly from the author's own photographs, and is provided with a very full and useful series of four indexes.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

LA MISE À MORT DU DIEU EN ÉGYPTÉ. PAR ALEXANDRE MORET. 4to. 59 pp. + 18 figures. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927.

This brochure contains the substance of the Frazer lecture delivered by the author in Oxford in 1926. The purport

of the lecture is to set forth the Egyptian evidence for the Frazerian doctrine of *The Dying God*, that is to say, the ceremonial death and resurrection of the god or spirit of fertility and nature in order to promote abundance of food and prosperity to mankind. In the *Golden Bough*, as is well known, Sir James Frazer has collected an enormous mass of detail from the customs and folklore of all parts of the world, including, of course, Ancient Egypt. He was, naturally, dependent to a large extent upon the information—not always reliable—imparted by classical writers, chiefly Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Plutarch. Professor Moret, being an Egyptologist, has the advantage of direct access to native sources, the hieratic papyri and hieroglyphic inscriptions of ancient Egypt, and in this essay his object has been to use this evidence in order to supplement that already collected by Sir James Frazer, and to apply to ancient Egypt what he calls “la théorie frazérienne”. It must be frankly admitted that the author has produced a most interesting and readable essay and has collected into a convenient compass a large mass of data bearing upon his demonstration. He begins by showing that in Egypt magic was paramount and that in Egypt, as elsewhere, the magicians claimed powers over nature and used those powers to effect, or at least to stimulate, the functions of nature. He refers to various magical spells, the object of which was to vitalize the sun, the earth, and the inundation on which the prosperity of the country depended. It was clearly part of the magician's make-believe that all the forces of nature were obedient to his commands, and Professor Moret might have referred in this connexion to the frequent threats used by magicians to suspend nature if their purpose were thwarted. Very interesting are the magical ceremonies performed in order to placate and stimulate the Nile. Needless to say, the god Osiris, as a corn-spirit, plays a leading rôle in the beliefs and ceremonies connected with the death and revival of nature according to the seasons. A long series of rites and customs

is quoted, to which very close parallels can be discerned in many different countries. Professor Moret has discussed these rites with great lucidity and with good bibliographical notes. His final conclusions are that the "théorie frazérienne" affords a reasonable explanation of the Osirian myth, of the sacrifice of sacred animals, and probably also of the jubilee festival of the king. In the reviewer's opinion, this is putting the cart before the horse, for it is surely obvious that exactly the reverse is the case. The Egyptian customs and beliefs are far older than those of any of the numerous other peoples whose practices have been so diligently collected and admirably marshalled in the *Golden Bough*. Osiris, the dead king *par excellence*, and the complex series of customs and beliefs associated with his cult, as corn-god, Nile-god, or god of the dead, can hardly be said to fall into place in a universal scheme, but they are rather the factors which originated the great fabric of institutions and rites which spread in all directions through time and space. It is nevertheless quite true that many present-day observances amongst peoples of relatively low culture are often suggestive as to the meaning or intention of much that is obscure in the mythology and eschatology of ancient Egypt, and the fact that a widespread, vast, and complex series of rites and beliefs, however they may differ in superficial details, and however irrational they may appear to modern criticism, have essentially the same foundation and purpose, seems to postulate that they owe their existence to a common ancestor. The close agreement of the Egyptian evidence with that of other countries points to Egypt as the birthplace of the idea which is so well expressed by the "théorie frazérienne", and to the wonderful and distinctive phenomenon of the annual inundation of the Nile as the principal factor in its origin.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

1. EGYPTIAN COLLOQUIAL ARABIC. A Conversation Grammar. By W. H. T. GAIRDNER. Second (Revised) Edition. 9 × 6. Oxford University Press, 1926.
2. EGYPTIAN COLLOQUIAL ARABIC READER. Edited by E. E. ELDER. 9 × 6. Oxford University Press, 1927.
3. MANUAL OF EGYPTIAN ARABIC. By D. C. PHILLOTT and A. POWELL. 7½ × 5. Cairo: The Authors, 1926.

Canon Gairdner has thoroughly enjoyed himself, and that is the best guarantee that those who use his book will enjoy it too. They will do more—they will learn colloquial Egyptian more rapidly and accurately than they could from any other source whatever. The mentally inert will be put off by the phonetic script employed throughout, but no one who has used it can fail to recognize that it is preferable to any Roman script, and infinitely preferable to Arabic script. The care bestowed on subtle points of accentuation and assimilation and the grasp of idiom are but two of the features in which this grammar definitely supersedes all its predecessors, and is unlikely ever to find an equal. Details here and there may be questioned, but who would demand uniformity in the present state of Egyptian speech? For extracting the full measure, pressed down and running over, contained in it a native Egyptian teacher is indispensable, but it can be used very profitably even by the private student, provided he knows something of Arabic pronunciation. In one point only, namely, in several of the sections appended to each lesson "towards translation", it appears to make unduly high demands on the beginner.

Mr. Elder's reader, also in phonetic script, is an admirable supplement to Canon Gairdner's grammar. While the requirements of the missionary student are kept in view throughout (very properly under the circumstances) there is a welcome variety in its contents, which have the additional merit of forming a valuable introduction to Egyptian life and customs, notably in the dialogues and the lecture on manners.

The third book on our list cannot compare with the other two for practical convenience and accuracy. It is cumbersome, both in arrangement and size, and neither the peculiar Roman transliteration adopted nor the Arabic script conveys satisfactorily to the student's ear the sounds of the spoken language. This is not to say that the book is valueless. Far from it. The student who has mastered the rudiments of Arabic and who knows the pronunciation and accentual system of Egyptian in particular will find it a mine of material in the matter of idiom and vocabulary.

H. A. R. GIBB.

SCIENTIFIC ZULU GRAMMAR. By Rev. W. WANGER. Vol. I. Series, *Opera Africana quibus edendis operam dant Revs. A. Drexel, H. Nekes, P.S.M., W. Wanger*. 9 × 6; xix + 346 pp. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Publishing and Printing Firm.

Father Wanger, who has worked as a missionary in the Zulu lands of East Africa, endeavours to establish a relation between the agglutinating language of the Bantu people and Sumerian. This thesis is only a side issue of his book; for he has set out to write a grammar of the Bantu dialects from the point of view of scientific comparative grammar, and obviously hopes to found a new science of comparative agglutinating languages, after the manner of comparative Indo-Germanic and Semitic grammar. The reviewer has no knowledge of the Bantu languages, except for what he has learned from some correspondence with the English missionary, the Rev. W. A. Crabtree, of Ipswich, who attempted to convince him of the connexion with Sumerian by certain etymological comparisons. Father Wanger's book is a case of *qui scit Scotum scit totum*. He evidently knows the Zulu languages, and everything which has been written about them, very thoroughly, and he has submitted his work to me for a review to obtain an opinion on his Sumerian thesis.

He employs, everywhere, the word *Ntu* for *Bantu*. Since

the Zulu peoples never invented a script of their own, the missionaries and civilians who have lived in East Africa and studied the dialects have transcribed their phonetic elements in Latin letters; the author begins by explaining these phonetic sounds, and here I am at once struck by a great disparity between Sumerian and Zulu. It may well be true that Sumerian possessed the three musical tones of Bantu; the author does not venture to say so, but Professor John D. Prince has asserted it in many articles. If so, we have lost the Sumerian musical tones irretrievably; they have left us no indication in their grammatical works, and the few musical notes added to the lines of Sumerian liturgies clearly refer to instrumental or song notes. They are not indicative of linguistic tones. I doubt that Sumerian possessed the *inspiratae* or "clicks" of Bantu and it did not know the palatal click *k* (*q*), the lateral fricative *hl*, and affricative *dhl*, or the nasalized lateral *nhl*. The vowels, however, seem to be practically the same as in Sumerian, and so are many of the phonetic principles governing sound change, especially the principles of assimilation of vowels, i.e. vowel harmony. A good many of the consonantal changes, e.g. *g* > *b*, *d* > *z*, *n* > *l*¹, and many others are common in Sumerian.

There are some very striking similarities in the vocabularies. Zulu has *aka*, to build, make, and Sum. *aga*, same sense; Zulu *ama*, thirst, and Sum. *imma*, and there is the similarity of the pronouns, Sum. *aba*, who?, Zulu *uba*, who?; Sum. *ana*, what? Zulu *ni*, what? Moreover, both are employed in the same ways in the two groups, *aba* personal, *ana* impersonal. Wanger also adduces similar words from Japanese and Altaic, p. 281. Most striking is the use of class determinatives in Sumerian and Bantu. In both groups these may be prefixed or suffixed. But here Wanger

¹ This occurs in Sumerian, as I stated in my grammar, p. 44 above, and explains the Sumerian negative forms in *l*. So Sum. *nu* (not), becomes *li*, before *bi*, *be*, *li-be-in-tuk*, he obtained not; *li-be-in-aga*. Sum. *na* > *la*, before *ba*, *ibid.*, n. 2.

seems to have been seriously misled in his Sumerian philology. On pp. 57-8, he claims that Sumerian employs *gi(sh)* and *mu* as determinatives of persons, and repeats it in many places. The Sum. personal (prefixed) determinative is *galu* > *lu* and *mulu*. It is true that Sum. *giš*, *geš*, *muš* > *mu* does mean *iġlu*, male, sturdy one, but never "man" (*amēlu*) in a generic sense as a *determinative*. Its only use as a determinative is before words for kinds of wood and implements. It is entirely erroneous to compare this word *giš* with Zulu personal determinative *isi*, although Zulu determinative for "place" *si*, may be properly compared with Sum. *ki*, and Zulu personal prefix *li* may well be compared with Sum. *lu*. A comparison is made between Zulu determinative *mu* for "trees" and Sum. *mu* dialectic for *giš*, which is proper, but when the author states that Sum. *mu*, to burn, and *mu*, fire, are the same root as *giš* > *mu*, wood, he is fallen into grievous error. Again I doubt the author's comparison of Zulu "space prefix", *mu*, with Sum. *mu* "year"; for surely *mu* came to mean "year" in Sumerian because it means "name", and each year had its name or year formula, a late meaning given to *mu*, after the Egyptian method was introduced by Sargon of Accad. So far as I can see, Zulu prefix *si* < *isi*, *izi*, can stand for the prefix of *persons*, *language*, *manner*, *animals*, *woods*, *places*, and *diminutives*. Of these the only proper comparisons are with Sum. *giš* wood, and *ki* place. The personal prefix *ni*, may well be the Sumerian personal pronoun *ni*, *na*, and the Zulu *ni* prefix for "thing" may be Sum. *nig*. Legitimate is the comparison between the "action (prefix) *ku*" and the Sum. action suffix *aga*. But when Zulu locative and temporal noun prefix *pa* is identified with Sum. post-fixed particle *ta* (in, with, by), I fail to be convinced. Here Turkish *alt* is compared with Sum. *ki-ta*, "on the earth," below, and Turkish *üst*, above, with Sum. *an-ta*, above.

Legitimate is the comparison of the Zulu abstract prefix *uku* as in *uku-nene*, "kindness," with the Sum. abstract prefix *aga*, *ag*. Here Zulu proves that Sum. abstract prefix

nig is a different word from *aga*, *ag*, *am*, and not the same words, as I supposed in my grammar. Zulu possesses a prefixed preposition *ku*, *ka*, for the locative, temporal and modal ideas, "in, at, to, from, in such manner," and this is identified with Sumerian *šu*, *še*. Of course, palatalization of a guttural *k* to *š* is possible, especially with the vowel *i*, and Wanger may be right about this. Much of his thesis depends upon the identifications of the Zulu preposition *pa* with Sum. *ta*, and *ku*, *ka* with Sum. *šu*, *še*, *ši*. These prepositions are employed in almost identical manners in the two groups.

Zulu *kulu*, "great," suggests Sum. *gulu*, *gal*, "great." The Zulu prefix, *no*, is employed to form nouns for "multiplicity, hugeness, immensity"; Wanger says that the basic meaning of *no* is "mother, female", and if this be true it may be rightfully compared with Sum. *nunus*, female. There is no phonetic difficulty about connecting Zulu suffixed determinative *zi*, *si*, *ti*, "river," with Sum. *id*, the prefixed determinative for river. Zulu, *azi*, to know, and Sum. *zu*, to know, is a striking fact, and *ama*, flood, may well be compared with Sum. *aga*, flood. But what a philologist wishes to know is the essential likeness of the pronouns, the numerals, the plural inflections and tense formations.

In Zulu *mi*, *me* means "my", and in Sum. *mu*, *ma*, and *mi-e* means "I" = Sum. *mê*, *ma-e*. *ku* means "thy"—whose identity with Sum. *zu*, "thy", is phonetically difficult. The third person is *e*, *e-ne*, to which the personal class determinative *mu* is prefixed, but this is obviously comparable with Sum. *e-ne*, that one, he. But the plurals are entirely different, *tu*, *si*, "we," *nu*, *ni*, *mu*, *mi*, "you." Reflexive Zulu *zi* may well be Sum. *zi*, soul. The numerals of Zulu present no similarity to Sumerian at all, and the plural of nouns is formed by the prefixes *izin*, *ama*, *imi*, and are totally different from the Sum. suffixes *ene*, *eš*.

It will be seen, therefore, that Sumerian and Bantu present enough important similarities to warrant serious comparison, but they diverge so fundamentally in syntactical structure and many essential features as to render the subject of a

comparative grammar of Sumerian, Bantu, and Ural-Altaic languages, in the sense of comparative Semitic grammar, hopeless. I have read with interest all the private communications I have received from workers in many African and Asianic languages, and the studies of many scholars who have endeavoured to find a language cognate to Sumerian. Of these special mention should be made of the following works :—(1) Professor Fritz Hommel, *Sumero-Türkische Wortvergleichen*, and in a privately issued manuscript, *Zwei Hundert Sumero-Türkische Wortvergleichen*; (2) M. Tseretheli, *Sumerian and Georgian*, *JRAS.*, 1913-14; (3) F. Bork, *Das Sumerische, eine Kaukasische Sprache*, *OLZ.* 1924; (4) Theo. Kluge, *Welcher Sprache ist das Sumerische anzugliedern?*; (5) Dr. C. J. Ball's various books and articles on Chinese and Sumerian, Tibetan and Sumerian, (see *PSBA.* 1918, 95-103); (6) and lastly, Autran's elaborate defence of the Indo-Germanic connexion of Sumerian, a theory which I started myself. I am more impressed by the arguments of Father Wanger than by any other of these theories. It must be pointed out again and again that *essential* similarities must be proved. When the pronouns, numerals, etymological formations, plurals, and main principles of the syntax are shown to be similar, an advocate will obtain a favourable hearing. But it is not enough to present a list of words which are similar. Even these comparisons are often hazardous and impossible.

If a body of inscriptions written in good Bantu were suddenly excavated in Mesopotamia or adjacent regions, and of the period anywhere contemporary with the Sumerians, or even as late as 500 B.C., Father Wanger would have no difficulty in convincing us of their Sumerian connexion. The Sumerian race perished utterly before 2,000 B.C. But who are the Zulus of East Africa? What is their history? What are their myths and what their literature? Can they by any stretch of imagination be connected with the splendid intellectual and artistic achievements of the ancient people of

Mesopotamia ? The chronological gap is too great to make it believable ; the difference in intellectual ability of Sumerian and Zulu prevents comparison. But anything might happen between 2,000 B.C. and the late period A.D. when we first know anything about Bantu languages and savage conditions. I wish the author, out of his immense knowledge, had told us something about Zulu history. What is their mythology ? and what is their art ?

The question which I ask myself after reading the elaborate comparisons of Sumerian with Bantu, Chinese, Turkish, Georgian, and Indo-Germanic is this :—" Granted that the connexion be true, is it of any use to the Sumerologist in solving the difficulties of Sumerian grammar and etymology ?" At best the similarities are few and entirely inadequate to prove anything of great value. These efforts can never help us much in translating our texts, but they may ultimately solve the most interesting historical problem, namely, the origin of the Sumerian people. But when Sumerian is confidently connected with such diverse languages as Bantu, Chinese, Sanscrit, Turkish, Georgian, it is clear that we cannot use these languages for Sumerology with any direct bearing upon our problems.

S. LANGDON.

P.S.—Since the above review was written another elaborate thesis on the connexion between the languages of the Polynesian islands of the Pacific and Sumerian under the title *Polynesisches Sprachgut in Amerika und in Sumer*, by Eduard Stucken, has appeared. His book is based upon the theory that the Sumerians, Egyptians, and inhabitants of Peru and Mexico of Central America all spread from a common centre, namely, the islands of the central Pacific Ocean, where a prehistoric continent once existed. Beside numerous word comparisons, the author also depends upon one cultural argument, the stage towers of Sumer, the pyramids of Egypt, and the stage towers of Polynesia. There are no evidences of syntactical similarities, and the essential elements, pronouns, numerals, and plural formations are not mentioned.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October-December, 1927)

The Society lost in November an old member in Dewan Tek Chand, Divisional Commissioner at Ambala. He joined the Society when studying for the I.C.S. at Cambridge in 1895, and has been an interested member ever since.

During the quarter the following resignations have been received : Mrs. C. Brownlow, Mr. B. R. Jain, Mr. J. Leveen, Miss E. A. Levin, Mr. Manmatha Nath Mukerjea, Mr. D. Talbot Rice, Mr. Sefton Jones, the Lord Scone, Colonel H. W. R. Senior, and Mr. Dan Singh.

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

18th October, 1927

Sir Edward Maclagan, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

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| Mr. N. G. Saswad Kar, B.A. | Mian Sultan Ahmed Vajudi |
| Mr. Nathu Lal, B.A., LL.B. | Nizami. |

Mr. Akshay Kumar Sircar.

Forty-two nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Dr. von Le Coq gave a lecture on "The Fourth Turfan Expedition," illustrated with very fine lantern slides. A cordial vote of thanks was passed to him.

He said that China has long occupied an exceptional position in our thoughts. It was generally accepted as a fact that its culture and art were original, autochthonous, and in no way even influenced by foreign culture-elements.

But the expeditions sent into Chinese Turkistan by the Russian, British, German, French, and Japanese Governments have furnished results from which we learn that China had

already been in intercourse with India, Iran, Mesopotamia, and Hellas in early pre-Christian times, and that Chinese art, as far as it is Buddhist, is based very largely on Hellenistic art, as developed in Persia, Bactria, and North-West India (Gandhāra country about Peshawar, Kabul, Hindu Kush valleys). And quite recently and independently of our researches the Swedish savant Gunnar Andersson has shown that in Neolithic times a close connexion had existed between China, Iran, and South-Eastern Europe.

Our expeditions have found the irrefutable traces of four great culture-streams between Europe and Asia. Two of them we describe here.

The first, and most ancient, is a movement from the West to the East, of Scythian tribes (Iranians and European Indo-Germanic tribes). It passed along the northern foothills of the Tien-shan, where to this day "grass and water" permit nomad tribes to exist, into Mongolia, where Kozlow lately found antiquities belonging to it, and into China as far as the knee of the Hoang-ho. The famous Yue-chi of the Chinese annals must have formed part of this movement, and we believe that certain septs of this tribe, remaining in Turkistan, are identical with the "Tokharians" of Kucha and Khocho, whose remarkable language, belonging to the European group of Indo-Germanic speech, we unearthed in the temples of these oases.

The road they took along the northern declivities of the Tien-shan, and through Southern Siberia, is marked by grave-mounds containing Scythian bronze objects, and crowned by rude stone statues, resembling those found on similar mounds in South Russia and the Crimea. These statues show an ethnographical peculiarity which as far as I know only recurs once, namely in the pictures of blue-eyed, red-haired men on the Tufan-frescoes; in both instances the tall boots are fastened to the belt with a supporting string.

It seems very likely that amongst other things these tribes, which had early communications with Greece, brought the

art of founding and manipulating bronze to the knowledge of the Chinese, and early Chinese bronze ornaments will, probably, be found to contain Scythian elements.

If this movement is hidden by the darkness of time, the second great culture-wave is much plainer—it also comes from the West; it is the conquest of Iran and North-West India by Alexander. The towns he founded introduced Greek culture and Greek blood into these lands, thus preparing them for the development of Hellenistic states after the expulsion of the Indians, who had again ruled there for several generations. The Hellenistic populations here rose to a very high Grecian culture, as shown by their wonderful coins; they were in constant connexion with the Parthians and, later, the Sasanians, as well as with their Indian neighbours, from whom they accepted Buddhism. And, in Gandhāra, by the help of Greek or half-breed artists, Buddhist art rose from classical art, all the types of Buddhist gods, demons, and saints, including that of the Buddha himself, being simply modifications of well-known classical types, such as Apollo, Dionysos, Jupiter, etc.

When the Greeks were conquered by the Indo-Scythians, the latter accepted Buddhism and its Hellenistic art, which zealous missionaries carried across the Pamir and the Karakorum to Chinese Turkistan.

That country was, however, not a Turkish land in early medieval times. In the West there sat, apparently, Iranian Sakas; the South, from Khotan eastward to the Lopnor, was ruled by a North-West Indian tribe, and the whole of the Northern expanse was occupied by Iranian Soghdians. But between Kucha and Turfan these latter were not the governing class—they were subject to the Tokharians, whom we believe to be a Scythic race.

The Uighur Turks appear to have conquered the north-east corner of the land (Turfan oasis) about A.D. 760. They slowly extended their rule over the whole country, and in the tenth century Turkish rulers appear in Kashghar. Islam

advances about the end of that century, and destroys the fine culture of the Buddhists.

This is the background of the lecture, which it is difficult to reproduce here, as it consisted mainly in interesting projections.

The ancient and the modern populations were shown, and it is a remarkable fact that to this day three types are easily recognized, namely the Persian, the European, and the Eastern Asiatic.

These people received Buddhism and its Hellenistic art. Being related to the Greeks and the (unmixed) Indians of the Panjāb, they modified the types but little, handing them over to the Chinese modified, it is true, but still plainly revealing their Hellenistic origin. The Chinese, finding these types absolutely foreign to their own genius, very quickly misunderstood dresses, coiffures, arms, etc., and, changing the features also according to their own beauty-ideal, transformed the whole of this Hellenistic art into Chinese art—which, without this impulse, and without knowledge of the many technical arts that accompanied the Buddhist propaganda, must have taken different lines of development.

In the lecture there were shown (in projections) the finds from the westernmost settlement (Tumshuk, near Maralbashi), where many of the statues are still purely Gandhāran, and from the different establishments near Kucha (middle of the Northern route), which show the gradual changes of these types until they merge into Chinese art.

8th November, 1927.

Sir Edward Maclagan, President, in the Chair.

The President announced the election of Professor F. W. K. Müller as an Honorary Member of the Society, and also deplored the loss to scholarship sustained by the death of Dr. D. G. Hogarth. It was resolved to convey the sympathy of the General Meeting to Mrs. Hogarth and also to the Royal Geographical Society in the loss of their President.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

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| Sheikh Md. Iqbal Ahmed, B.A. | Mr. Jannina Prosad Jain. |
| Mr. R. S. Vaidyanatha Ayyar, B.A. | Professor N. Martinovitch. |
| Mr. Mahadeva V. Bhide. | Mr. K. B. L. Mathur, M.A. |
| Dr. Karanjaksha Bonerjee. | Sir John H. Maynard, K.C.I.E. |
| M. Jean Burnay. | Mr. R. J. Moses. |
| Mr. O. K. Caroe. | Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain. |
| Mr. P. Chandra. | Mr. Bains Prashad. |
| Mr. Iresh Lal Shome Chowdhury. | Pandit Sarup Narain Rozdon. |
| Mr. Hans Raj Davar, B.Sc. | Mr. R. Said-Ruete. |
| Capt. A. G. C. Fane, M.C. | Mr. Kanahya Lal Saqib, M.A. |
| Mr. H. L. O. Garrett, M.A. | Mr. Jyotis Govinda Sen, Ph.D. |
| Mr. S. K. Ghosh. | Professor Fradun-e-Zaman Md. Shuja. |
| Mr. F. H. Giles. | Mr. Md. Hasan Siddiqi, B.A. |
| Mr. Ram Sharan Lal Govil. | Mr. George Hamilton Singh. |
| Mr. Akhwand Ghulam Hassan, M.A. | Kunwar Maharaj Singh, C.I.E. |
| Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne. | Sardar Darshan Singh. |
| Khan Bahadur Sheikh Nur Ilahi, M.A. | Rai Sahib Tara Chand Sood. |
| Mr. Md. Ishaque, M.A., B.Sc. | Mr. H. L. Srivastava, M.A. |
| Mr. T. K. Duraiswamy Iyengar. | Mr. H. M. S. Thompson, B.A. |
| Mr. S. N. A. Jafri. | Sir Lionel L. Tomkins, C.I.E. |
| | Dr. R. Ramsay Wright, M.A. |
| | Mr. Suleman Ishaq Yakub. |

Six nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Mr. G. R. Driver read a paper entitled "The Hebrew *Tetragrammaton* ; its original form and pronunciation", of which the following is an abstract :—

The evidence for the divine names is found (a) in cuneiform documents, which supply early evidence for the vowels, in the names of Hebrew kings and Jewish traders ; and (b) in the Aramaic *papyri* from Egypt and on Jewish inscribed objects.

I. As found in the composition of proper names, the *tetragrammaton* assumed the forms :—

(i) At the beginning of names, יְיָ, *Ya-*, *Yau-*, יְהִי, *Yahu-*, and יֵי ;

(ii) At the end of names, יָי, -*Yau*, -*Ya*, יִיה, יִיה, יִיא, and -*Yāma*.

The earliest form was יָי; there was a gradual tendency to longer forms which ended early in the fifth century B.C.; יִיה and יִיה remained constant throughout that century; after this no principle was observed.

The common pronunciation underlying all these forms was *Yā*, whether written *Yāw* or *Yāh* or *Yā'*, owing to the need of a final consonant in Hebrew. The *h* was a mere *litera prolongationis*, seen also in אֲבָרָה > אֲבָרָה and other proper names. When this *h* came to be erroneously pronounced, *Yahw* became *Yāhū* as *sahw* became *sāhū*, "swimming."

II. The independent forms were יִיה, c. 850 B.C., and יִיה, יִיה, or יִיה in the fifth century B.C. Again, *Yā* suits all forms but יִיה. But, since it is against all analogy for Semites to abbreviate the names of their gods, the latter must be a prolongation of the former. Now *yā* is a universal Semitic exclamation, so that it seems not improbable that the name *Yā* was ejaculatory in origin, like *ἰακχος* or *βάκχος* and *Eὔιος* in Greek. This was prolonged in moments of excitement and emotion, like the Assyrian *yāyaya*, and was then assimilated to and explained by the verb הָיָה (or הָיָה, as it was in some Semitic languages) "became." The new name, which was the symbol of national unity resting on the worship of a national god, was too sacred for common use and was confined to the Scriptures in practical use. The true pronunciation came in course of time to be forgotten; but it was at first widely known, since a Moabite not only knew it, but was careful to use it in recording the triumph of his national god over that of his enemies; to have used *Yā* in place of *Yahweh* would have taken the sting out of the record of a great national victory.

A discussion followed, in which Professor Margoliouth, Dr. Gaster, Dr. Daiches, Dr. Büchler, Mr. Clauson, and Mr. Sallaway took part.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

13th December, 1927

Sir Edward Maclagan, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

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| Mr. Ahmad Ali Khan, M.A. | Mr. Manohar Lal Talib, B.A. |
| Mr. A. R. Arunachala Nadar. | Khan Bahadur Nawab |
| Mr. M. D. Raghavan, B.A. | Muzaffar Khan. |
| Mr. Nirunjun Sircar, B.Sc. | |

Fifteen nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. Muhammad Nazim read a paper entitled "Somnath and its Conquest" by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, chiefly taken from unpublished original sources. The following is a summary :—

SOMNATH AND ITS CONQUEST BY SULTAN MAHMUD

(a) *The origin and the sacredness of the idol of Somnāth*

Nothing is known historically about the origin of the idol of Somnāth, the well-known linga of Mahādeva, in Kathiawar. According to Hindu legend,¹ the idol was set up by the Moon in expiation of *his* sin. The Muslim authors, on the contrary, connect it with the idol named Manāt, which the Prophet Muḥammad had cast out of the Ka'ba.² But, whatever the origin, the idol was of undoubted antiquity. As-Subkī, in his *Ṭabaqātu'l-Shāfi'īyyatu'l Kubrā'*,³ says that the idol had thirty rings round it, each of which represented a period of 1,000 years, for which it was supposed to have been worshipped.

The worship of the linga was not confined to the idol of Somnāth, as there were numerous similar lingas in the temples of Sindh and Cutch.⁴ The idol of Somnāth had become

¹ Albirūnī's *India* (Sachau's translation), vol. ii, p. 102.

² Gardēzi, *Zainu'l-Akhbār* (King's College, Cambridge, MS. 213), fol. 126a, and Farrukhī, *Divān* (India Office MS. No. 1841), fol. 196.

³ Vol. iv (Cairo ed.), p. 15.

⁴ Albirūnī, *ib.*, p. 104.

particularly famous for certain reasons, one of which was that its worshippers, probably realizing that the place was well protected from an attack, had given out that Sultán Maḥmūd had destroyed other idols of India with impunity because Somnāth was displeased with them. This enhanced the sanctity of the idol in the eyes of the pious Hindus, who had failed to assign any reason for the sacrilegious treatment to which their cherished gods had been subjected. The temple of Somnāth was exceedingly rich, and its coffers were full of a huge amount of gold and precious stones, which had been accumulated by the votive offerings of generations of pious devotees.

(b) *The original temple and its site*

The original temple did not stand on the site which is pointed out to-day. Ibn Zāfir¹ and Sibṭ Ibnu'l-Jauzī,² on the authority of aṣ-Ṣābī's *Dhail Tajāribu'l-Umam*, in which Sultán Maḥmūd's letters of victory to the Baghdad Caliph were preserved *in extenso*, say that the foundation of the temple of Somnāth was laid on huge blocks of stone; that the floor was made of teak planks, the interstices having been filled with lead; that the roof was supported on fifty-six columns of teak, which had been imported from Africa; that there were "thirteen roofs" rising one above the other; that the apex of the temple was surmounted by fourteen spherical knobs of gold, which were visible from a long distance; and that, in the passage leading into the idol chamber, there were niches for ushers to stand, whose duty was to admit pilgrims to the sanctuary. These definite statements prove conclusively that the standing ruins are not those of the temple destroyed by Sultán Maḥmūd, because firstly, they are not spacious enough for this description to be applicable to them; secondly, they are the ruins of a stone building, whereas a large part of the original temple was made

¹ *Akhbāru'd-Duwalu'l-Munqati'ah* (Br. Mus. Or. 3685), fol. 150b.

² *Mirātu'z-Zamān* (Br. Mus. Or. 4619), fol. 214a.

of wood ; thirdly, they are only about one mile from the mouth of the river Sarasvatī, while Albírúni¹ places the ancient temple 3 miles west of the mouth of this river ; and, finally, they could not have been possibly washed by the sea, as they are about 50 feet above its level, and nearly as many feet away from it.

In my opinion the original temple stood near the temple of Bhidia, which is situated on the beach between Patan Somnáth and Verawal, 3 miles to the west of the mouth of the River Sarasvatī. At a distance of about 200 yards from this temple there are the remains of huge blocks of stone, which must have formed the floor or the foundation of a big building. They are partly buried under sand, and the waves of the ocean wash over them at high tide. Close to this site, a linga has been placed in the sea, probably to commemorate the site of the original temple. I am sure that if this site were excavated some new facts about the temple of Somnáth might come to light.

(c) *The route of the Sultán*

It is erroneously believed that on his way to Somnáth Sultán Maḥmūd passed by Ajmere. Firstly, Ajmere was not founded till A.D. 1100,² i.e. about seventy-five years after the expedition ; secondly, it would have prolonged the march of the Sultán by about 100 miles without reducing the length of the journey through the desert ; thirdly, it would have necessitated penetration without any particular reason into the hills which protect Ajmere on the north-west ; and, finally, it would have made the Sultán run the unnecessary risk of encountering the numerous Rajput chieftains who held sway on the northern slopes of the Arawalli range. I have been able to outline the route of the Sultán by reference to a *qaṣída* of Farrukhí,³ who was one of his court-poets. In the course of the journey, he says, the Sultán passed by

¹ Albírúni, *ib.*, p. 105.

² *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxvi, p. 126.

³ Farrukhí, *ib.*, fol. 19a.

"Ludrava", which I identify with Lodorva,¹ about 10 miles west by north of the town of Jaisalmir; Chikdúr (?), which was probably the name of the Chiklodar Mata's hill²; Nahrwála, modern Patan in Ahmadabad district of the Bombay Presidency; Mundhér,³ about 18 miles south of Patan; and Dewalwára,⁴ modern Delwada, which is situated between Una and the island of Diu.

(d) *The Expedition*

The details of the expedition to Somnāth are too well-known to need repetition at length, but they are usually based on Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa, which is not trustworthy. I will, therefore, give a brief summary of the broad facts of the expedition. The Sultān left Ghazna on Wednesday, 22nd Sha'bān, 416 A.H. (18th October, 1025 A.D.), reached Multan on 15th Ramadan (9th November), and stopped there to inquire into the conditions of travel across the desert and to make the necessary preparations for the journey. He left Multan on 2nd Shawwāl⁵ (26th November), and plunged into the unknown desert. He captured the town of Lodorva, and after replenishing his stores of water, proceeded towards Nahrwála, the ruler of which named Bhīm fled at his approach to Kanthkot,⁶ in Cutch. The Sultān now marched straight to Somnāth. At Mundhér and Delwada the Hindus attempted to check his advance, but he overcame their resistance, and reached Somnāth on Thursday, 15th of Dhu'l-Qa'da (6th January, 1026 A.D.). The commander of the fort which protected the temple fled to some island at his approach. The Sultān laid siege to the fort. The Hindus defended it with heroism. The following day at the time of the Friday

¹ *Gazetteer of Marwar, Mallani, and Jaysulmere*, by C. K. M. Walter, pp. 84, 96; and *Imperial Gazetteer, Provincial Series, Rajputana*, pp. 209-10.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. v, p. 282. It is about 17 miles north of Palanpur.

³ Jas. Burgess, *Archæological Survey of Western India*, vol. ix, p. 71.

⁴ Ibn Zāfir, *Akhbār u'l-Duwal u'l-Munqatī'ah*, ib., fol. 150a.

⁵ *Mirāt u'z-Zamān*, ib., fol. 215a.

⁶ Kanthkot is 16 miles south-west from Rao and 36 miles from Anjar.

prayer, the Muslims escalated the walls, but before evening the Hindus had driven them away. On Saturday morning the Muslims renewed the attack with greater vigour, and captured the fort. The Sultán now entered the temple, and after it had been divested of its riches, ordered it to be burnt to the ground. The linga was broken into pieces and transported to Ghazna.¹

After a stay of about a fortnight,² the Sultán started on his return march by a more westerly route, because the Hindu Rajas had mustered their forces to intercept him. Instead of returning by way of Nahrwála, the Sultán marched to Cutch, crossed the narrow arm of the sea that separates it from Kathiawar,³ and attacked Bhím in the fort of Kanthkot, where he had taken refuge. Bhím again fled. The Sultán now continued his march towards Sindh. His army was misled by a devotee of Somnáth in the waterless region of Cutch, but he escaped by good luck and crossed over in safety to Sindh. Khafif,⁴ the Qarmatian ruler of Sindh, fled at his approach. The Sultán occupied Manşúrah, his capital, and marched towards Multan along the bank of the River Indus. He was harassed by the Bhátí Jats who hung upon his rear, cut up stragglers, and plundered the baggage. After suffering many hardships, the Sultán arrived in Ghazna on 10th Şafar, 417 A.H. (1st April, 1026 A.D.).

(e) *Stories connected with the Expedition*

The expedition to Somnáth was a military adventure of the most reckless and daring nature, and its fame spread throughout the length and breadth of the Muslim world. The Sultán was looked upon as a national hero, and within a few hundred years a huge mass of legendary literature had grown up round his name, for a few specimens of which see *Tárikh-i-Rauḍatu's-Şafá*, *Tárikh-i-Alfí*, *Tárikh-i-Firishta*, and the

¹ *Akhbárud-Duwalu'l-Munqati'áh*, ib.; *Mirátu'z Zamán*, ib.; and *Ibnu'l-Athir*, vol. ix, pp. 240-43.

² The Sultán could not have stayed longer.

³ *Farrukhí*, ib., fol. 20a, gives a long description of it.

⁴ This name is mentioned only by *Farrukhí*, ib.

Mantiqu't-Tair of Shaikh Faridu'd-Din 'Attar, the well-known mystic poet. From an historical point of view their collective value is negligible.¹

A discussion followed, in which the High Commissioner, Sir Atul Chatterjee, Professor Margoliouth, Dr. Thomas, and Sir Denison Ross took part. A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

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¹ Sir E. C. Bayley in his translation of the *Mirā't-i-Ahmadi*, has tried to prove that there is nothing unusual in the story about Dābishiīm, but obviously he had not taken into consideration the overwhelming historical evidence against it.

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S

TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
SANSKRIT, ARABIC
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given within is based on that approved by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894. A few optional forms have been added so as to adapt it to the requirements of English and Indian scholars. The Council earnestly recommends its general adoption (as far as possible), in this country and in India, by those engaged in Oriental Studies.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---------------------------------|
| अ | . | . | . | a |
| आ | . | . | . | ā |
| इ | . | . | . | i |
| ई | . | . | . | ī |
| उ | . | . | . | u |
| ऊ | . | . | . | ū |
| ऋ | . | . | . | ṛ or ṝ |
| ॠ | . | . | . | ṝ or ṝ̄ |
| ऌ | . | . | . | ḷ or ḹ |
| ॡ | . | . | . | ḹ or ḹ̄ |
| ए | . | . | . | e or ē |
| ऐ | . | . | . | ai |
| ओ | . | . | . | o or ō |
| औ | . | . | . | au |
| क | . | . | . | ka |
| ख | . | . | . | kha |
| ग | . | . | . | ga |
| घ | . | . | . | gha |
| ङ | . | . | . | ṅa |
| च | . | . | . | ca or <u>cha</u> ¹ |
| छ | . | . | . | cha or <u>chha</u> ¹ |
| ज | . | . | . | ja |
| झ | . | . | . | jha |
| ञ | . | . | . | ña |
| ट | . | . | . | ṭa |
| ठ | . | . | . | ṭha |
| ड | . | . | . | ḍa |
| ढ | . | . | . | ḍha |
| ण | . | . | . | ṇa |
| त | . | . | . | ta |
| थ | . | . | . | tha |
| द | . | . | . | da |

¹ In modern Indian languages only.

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|----------|
| ध | . | . | . | . | dha |
| न | . | . | . | . | na |
| प | . | . | . | . | pa |
| फ | . | . | . | . | pha |
| ब | . | . | . | . | ba |
| भ | . | . | . | . | bha |
| म | . | . | . | . | ma |
| य | . | . | . | . | ya |
| र | . | . | . | . | ra |
| ल | . | . | . | . | la |
| व | . | . | . | . | va |
| श | . | . | . | . | śa |
| ष | . | . | . | . | ṣa |
| स | . | . | . | . | sa |
| ह | . | . | . | . | ha |
| ळ | . | . | . | . | ḷa or ḷa |
| • (Anusvāra) | . | . | . | . | m̐ |
| ◌ (Anunāsika) | . | . | . | . | m̐ or ~ |
| : (visarga) | . | . | . | . | ḥ |
| × (jihvāmūlīya) | . | . | . | . | ḥ |
| ॡ (upadhmānīya) | . | . | . | . | ḥ |
| § (avagraha) | . | . | . | . | ' |
| Udātta | . | . | . | . | |
| Svarita | . | . | . | . | |
| Anudātta | . | . | . | . | |

ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|-----|
| ॠ | . | . | . | . | ṛa |
| ॡ | . | . | . | . | ṛha |

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration. Thus Hindi करता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making; कल *kal* (not *kala*), to-morrow.

The sign ~, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nūn-i-ghunna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars: thus अँ *ā̃*, आँ *ā̃*, and so on. It is therefore permitted as an optional use in these circumstances.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

at beginning of word omit; hamza elsewhere,
alternatively, hamza may be represented by - or

| | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| ب | b |
| ت | t |
| ث | t or <u>th</u> |
| ج | j or <u>dj</u> ¹ |
| ح | h |
| خ | h or <u>kh</u> |
| د | d |
| ذ | d or <u>dh</u> |
| ر | r |
| ز | z |
| س | s |
| ش | ʃ or <u>sh</u> |
| ص | ʃ |
| ض | ḍ |
| ط | ṭ or <u>t</u> ¹ |
| ظ | ẓ or <u>z</u> ¹ |
| ع | ‘ |
| غ | g or <u>gh</u> |
| ف | f |
| ق | q |
| ك | k |
| ل | l |
| م | m |
| ن | n |

¹ Although allowed by the Geneva system, the use of *dj* for ج in England or India is not recommended; nor for modern Indian languages should ط be transliterated by *t* or ظ by *z*, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

و or v

ه h

ت or th

ي y

vowels - a, i, u

lengthened | ā, ī, ū

Alif-i-maqṣūra may be represented by ā

diphthongs اِ ay and اَو au or اِ ai and اَو au respectively

e and o may be used in place of ī and ū

also ē and ō in Indian dialects, ū and ō in Turkish.—

ل of article ل to be always l

Also in India, in transliterating Indian dialects, and for Persian, will be recognized ʒ for ث, z for ذ, and ʒ for ض

waṣla

A final silent h need not be transliterated,—thus بندہ *banda* (not *bandah*). When pronounced, it should be written,—thus گناہ *gunāh*.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Persian, Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣhtō.

پ p
چ c, c, or ch
ز or zh
گ g

Turkish letters.

ک when pronounced as y, k is permitted
ن ñ

Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣtō.

ت or ت t

ڈ or د d

ر or ر r

ن (nūn-i-ghunna) ~ as in the case of the Nāgari
anunāsika

Paṣtō letters.

ځ ts or ts

ګ g or ځh (according to dialect)

ن n

ښ ksh; or ښh or ښh (according to dialect)

ځ or ځ dz or dz

Complied
1999-2000

